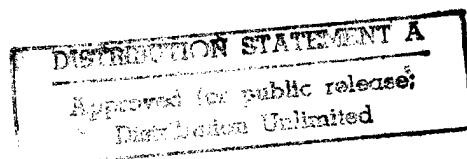


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East Europe Report



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EAST EUROPE REPORT

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AGRICULTURE

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

S&T APPLICATION IN FARMING; EFFICIENCY OF MEASURES ASSESSED

East Berlin WIRTSCHAFTSWISSENSCHAFT in German Vol 34 No 6, Jun 86 pp 842-855

[Article by Hermann Hagedorn, Dr of Agricultural Science, certified agronomist, born 1939, lecturer with the College for Agriculture & Foodstuffs Industry, Bernburg; and by Prof Gerhard Kaulitzki, Dr of Agricultural Science, certified agriculturist, born 1929, with the same college; and by Prof Rudolf Juergen, Dr of Agricultural Science, certified agriculturist, department head with the GDR Academy of Agriculture. Original title: "Problems of Stating the Efficiency of Measures of Scientific-Technological Progress in Agriculture"]

[Text] The article deals with theoretical aspects of scientific-technological progress, paying special attention to its statement of efficiency in agriculture.

Proceeding from the basic requirement to improve the expenditure/result ratio, it was the aim of the authors to prove that it is possible to provide statements on efficiency. Above all, it was a question of working out those aspects which have a bearing on efficiency due to the peculiarities of agricultural production and to the action of natural factors. It was also the intent of the contribution to explain how and by which indices account can be given of the efficiency of measures of scientific-technological progress in agriculture.

Planning and calculating the economic benefits of scientific and technical progress in agriculture is necessary in order to better determine and evaluate the possible contributions of measures introduced to increase production and effectiveness. Doing so ensures that the "social causes put in motion also primarily and to an ever increasing extent have the . . . desired effects." (Footnote 1) (K. Marx and F. Engels: "Collected Works," Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1956ff, p 264)

In the resolution passed by the 12th Farmer's Congress of the GDR it was decided that a greater effort must be made to take into account the possible economic effects of scientific and technical progress. The conclusion was, "We see our responsibility above all as the comprehensive and rapid practical implementation of scientific and technical progress. Therefore, we assign ourselves challenging tasks which are firmly coordinated with the plans and

programs of our LPG's and state farms and all other socialist enterprises. We will plan and render accounts with precision regarding the economic benefits to be thus obtained." (Footnote 2) ("Resolution of the 12th Farmer's Congress of the GDR," KOOPERATION, No 6, 1982, p 262) The realization of this challenging task requires that each level of scientific and technical progress provide a tangible contribution toward increasing production or improving the cost/benefit ratio and that the greatest possible use to society be demonstrated by each new scientific finding.

Planning and rendering accounts of the economic benefits of scientific and technical progress gives rise above all to conditions conducive to a higher level of reality, stability and balance in the economic plans. In this regard the following aspects should be emphasized:

/First,/ (printed in italics) the orderly documentation of required expenditures and achievable results forms the basis for permitting coordination of these items on the national economic balance sheets and within the plans prepared by the enterprises and the management levels in charge of them. This in turn creates conditions whereby management decisions regarding the implementation of scientific and technical progress are directed from the very beginning toward ensuring higher growth rates in terms of production and effectiveness.

/Second,/ (printed in italics) binding implementation of the measures of scientific and technical progress according to the economic plan requires the use of more concrete criteria and parameters related to costs and benefits. Only when the plan is subjected to controls can it function as the main instrument of management in terms of implementing scientific and technical progress. If criteria which can be monitored and for which accounts can be rendered are not used, it is nearly impossible when implementing scientific and technical progress to recognize whether there are problems or whether reserves exist.

/Third,/ (printed in italics) generating the necessary conviction as to the correctness and usefulness of the measures of scientific and technical progress to be implemented has a great influence in terms of promptly translating them into production. Whether costs and benefits, under given conditions, can be integrated into the economic plan and made to produce material and moral stimulation greatly influences the economic attitudes and practical effective management of cooperative farmers and laborers. Recognition of the benefits is therefore an essential aspect of general mobilization of the cooperative farmers and laborers who are directly effected by the economic results achieved in their cooperatives and cooperative facilities. Economic guidelines in agriculture, particularly the guidelines concerning levels and increases regarding personal income depending on the growth of the domestic product and the net product, as well as the tax guidelines regarding price adjustments on differential profits, are directed toward constant improvements in production and production effectiveness and serve to promote the broad implementation of scientific and technical progress. In agriculture in the GDR, in a number of LPG's and state farms with varying areas of specialization and differing natural and economic production conditions, the scientific findings of research facilities, to which not all LPG's and state farms have direct ties, must be implemented.

At the same time this entails special responsibilities on the part of local state agencies with their specialized agencies and centers of science and technology as subordinate agencies. The task of the local state agencies is to take the advantages of socialism, which it is their responsibility to influence and shape, and effectively use those advantages to further accelerate scientific and technical progress. Those advantages which must be made more effective, particularly in order to ensure a high level of utilization of scientific and technical progress under conditions of cooperative/socialist ownership, are:

- The existing intellectual potential, the high level of awareness and the high level of qualification of the cooperative farmers and laborers
- Realization of the principle of democratic centralism in the use of new findings to increase yields and output and assuring them in a material and technical sense based on balance sheets and agreements
- The stimulation provided by challenging planned objectives with regard to developing production and production effectiveness due to the establishment of state planning tasks, planning directions and orientation figures for implementing scientific and technical progress
- Combining the authority of state agencies with the consultative activities of the centers for science and technology of the bezirk councils and implementing consultations, user seminars, know-how exchanges and other specific measures for providing information on experiences and new findings
- The further development of the strengths of cooperative ownership, particularly through continued promotion of work with the concepts of highest yield and highest output, as well as through the comprehensive use of and emphasis on the socialist enterprise economy.

The influencing obligations of the local state agencies are linked to the scientific consultative activities of the centers for science and technology. Of primary importance, based on economic benefits, is to supply convincing arguments as to the necessity of the new advancements and show ways of implementing them, to determine the most appropriate ways and means of using them and to calculate the effects on intensively expanded reproduction in order to lay the groundwork for deciding the question of how to most appropriately utilize resources.

Problems of Proving Economic Benefits in Agriculture

The day-to-day organization of the economy is linked to establishing and translating into production measures which can be planned and for which accounts can be rendered and which provide workers with a clear orientation toward their work. Life confirms that scientific and technical progress in agricultural production is accomplished by means of a constantly growing number of individual steps and entails a complex renewal process. (Footnote 3) (See K. Schmidt, "On Basic Questions of Social Requirements Regarding Scientific and Technical Progress in Agriculture and Foodstuffs Management," WIRTSCHAFTSWISSENSCHAFT, No 8, 1982, p 1126) Of immediate practical significance in terms of mastering scientific and technical progress in agriculture, as well as for solving management problems associated with it, is the

question of the essence and content of planned and calculated actions regarding scientific and technical progress.

A measure of scientific and technical progress which can be planned and for which accounts can be rendered can be characterized as a way of improving and most appropriately using labor funds, labor tools, natural resources and the productive forces which nature provides free of charge, as well as technology and direct production management and planning. It is based on scientific findings, advanced experimentation and innovation and leads to improvements in the quality of products, to increased output, to improvements in production effectiveness and to improvements in working and living conditions. (Footnote 4) (See H. Hagedorn, "Suggestions for Planning Measures of Scientific and Technical Progress in the LPG's, State Farms and Cooperative Facilities and the Resulting Tasks in Terms of State Management Activities," College for Agriculture and Foodstuffs Industry, Bernburg, 1984, dissertation B, p 29f) The nature of planned measures of scientific and technical progress and the necessity of planning them are therefore given within a limited time frame until they are translated into production and have become an integral part of the production process, and until their intended effects and the set parameters have been achieved.

Depending on the particular characteristics of a measure and the diverse directions its effects may take, the concrete form which benefits take may require various methods for determining effectiveness. Compared to industry, in agriculture the "economic reproduction process, regardless of its specific social character, . . . is always intertwined with a natural reproduction process." (Footnote 5) (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Collected Works," op. cit., Vol 24, p 359)

Also involved is a time-related breakdown of the labor and production processes. As a rule, however, in conjunction with the necessary labor processes, scientific and technical findings are put to effective use in fields with varying yield capacity and stalls with varying levels of maintenance. But since the production result can frequently only be determined at a later point in time after the effects of the above-mentioned varying conditions become apparent and the effects of natural production conditions are taken into account, the effects produced when the measure is implemented are not immediately discernible and may turn out differently.

A further difference with respect to industry, resulting from the intertwining of natural and economic processes, is that the improvements which are based on scientific findings act in two directions--are "dual in nature"--"those which increase the productive forces of the land and those which make it possible to obtain the same product with less work by means of improvements in machinery." (Footnote 6) (K. Marx, "Outline of Criticism of the Political Economy," Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1953, p 794) This general statement is true for plant production as well as for animal production. When a measure of scientific and technical progress is implemented, but really only when many measures are implemented in complex fashion, is it possible to have an effect in two directions as well as in one direction. The result is two ways of increasing labor productivity and, in the final analysis, effectiveness. In the first place, it is possible, using new findings involving the same level of technical labor

resources, to realize larger product quantities per unit of surface area or per animal with expenditures that do not increase in the same manner.

This involves measures which lead to better utilization of the productive forces which nature provides free of charge, for example measures based on new findings regarding crop rotation arrangements or feeding regimens, fertilization measures, plant protection measures, the use of new, more productive plant types or animal breeds, measures to improve soil fertility, increased cultivation and measures related to the disciplines of agronomy and zoology. In this same connection it is possible, secondly, to generate the same quantities of products with ever decreasing overall expenditures by replacing human labor with more effective objectified labor. In order to accomplish this, much more effective labor resources must be employed which will lead to reduced expenditures and savings in terms of working time. The focus of these efforts is above all solutions which provide improvement and better utilization of existing production funds and which permit increased labor productivity in processes and procedures which are more labor intensive. Since as a rule these measures are also simultaneously directed toward more effective exploitation of natural biological laws, effects which produce higher yields and increase productivity are closely related to one another.

Under these conditions, the use of several effectiveness indices is unavoidable. Based on the fact that the main production resource, agricultural land, cannot be increased and that therefore its contribution in terms of the primary task at hand is expressed as increased supplies of agricultural products per surface unit, the first utilization index category must reflect how the production volume per hectare of agricultural land area is developed. The development of the relationship between costs and benefits is included in a second category of equal significance. From the very beginning there are limits to the possibility of using only inclusive indices for effectiveness or benefits. The scope and nature of the indices to be used is always dependent on the concrete properties and effectiveness directions of the measures to be implemented. Just as the results of the economic activities of the LPG's and state farms are always measured and evaluated in terms of the full utilization of all production resources, it also follows that the benefits of measures of scientific and technical progress be evaluated in terms of the changes which occur in overall resource utilization.

Proceeding from the two basic effectiveness directions of scientific and technical progress in agriculture derived from the main task at hand, evidence must be provided of increased yield per surface area on the one hand and improved cost/benefit ratios on the other hand. Since both of these effectiveness directions effect and complement one another, benefits must also always be viewed in terms of a single unit.

Accounting and statistics make it possible to integrate the measures to be implemented into economic activities in a verifiable fashion and to record the above-mentioned effects on the various facets of the reproduction process. At the same time, however, other problems arise which are based on the close reciprocal relationship between economic and biological reproduction processes, and which can be traced back to certain conditions and peculiarities of agricultural production:

- The effects of the measures of scientific and technical progress can vary depending on weather conditions. For example, as a result of heavy rains in April and May of 1983, the use of herbicides in sugar beet production not only had the effect of killing weeds but also of stunting the growth of the beets themselves. This result was traced back to fact that the herbicide was washed into the root zone of the sugar beet plants.
- Measures intended to increase yields do not always result in a yield increase as compared to the previous year because yields are subject within certain limits to weather-related fluctuations from year to year. The effects of such measures can only be determined under comparable conditions, or longer time periods must be compared in order to eliminate annual weather-related fluctuations.
- The effects of measures for improving soil fertility as a rule extend over several years without producing the same result during each year and for each type of product. Therefore, measuring the benefits of such measures directly in terms of a yield increase is complicated.
- The effects of individual measures of scientific and technical progress are frequently not clearly definable because they are applied along with a complex group of other measures in the production process, the effects of which can complement and intensify one another as is shown by the example of using the drive path method with grain in conjunction with such measures as fertilization recommendations based on available funds, late nitrogen fertilization based on leaf analysis, combatting mildew and using stalk stabilizers.
- If yield-related goals are not achieved, for example in feed production as a result of weather conditions, the close interrelationships between plant and animal production cause the production potential of the animals brought about by progress in breeding techniques not to be fully utilized. At the same time unfavorable effects are also produced in terms of feed management.
- Not all of the effects or potential effects are always achieved immediately when new findings are implemented. Frequently all of the possibilities are exhausted only following repeated application because the specific conditions must be researched and evaluated in conjunction with local experiences.

Just as in other branches of the national economy, it is possible in agriculture in principle to record and evaluate the economic effects of the measures of scientific and technical progress based on indices. In determining the recording method, however, the above-mentioned aspects must be taken into account. To do this, comparisons over several years, the performance of experiments and large-scale testing, and precise record-keeping of output comparisons are essential. The result, the economic effect produced by the measures of scientific and technical progress implemented, can be seen in production growth rates, as well as in the way costs and benefits develop. The question of the indices to be used effectively for this purpose must be based both on the requirements and problems of agricultural production and on basic requirements of economic strategy. This requires an answer not only to the question of to what extent a measure can improve yields, output and the cost/benefit ratio but also in like manner to provide proof of the extent to which a contribution can be made to improved utilization of natural and economic production conditions or money-saving intensification. The following

inequalities which appear in agriculture and which represent economic benefits are important for determining these complex interrelationships:

$$\text{Production per hectare}_1 = \text{Production per hectare}_0$$

$$\frac{\text{Production}_1}{\text{Production}_0} \frac{\text{Prime Costs}_1}{\text{Prime Costs}_0}$$

$$\frac{\text{Production}_1}{\text{Production}_0} \frac{\text{Labor Force}_1}{\text{Labor Force}_0}$$

$$\frac{\text{Production}_1}{\text{Production}_0} \frac{\text{Production Consumption}_1}{\text{Production Consumption}_0}$$

or

$$\text{growth of labor productivity} \quad \text{growth of funding}$$

0 = base time period

1 = time period following implementation of scientific and technical measures.

In using this and other inequalities to represent the development of effectiveness, it was assumed that every effort goes into effectiveness which is necessary in order to obtain the desired result. This includes better use of available resources for increasing production and reducing the time required for doing so. Money-saving intensification in agriculture--in which the soil, as a resource of limited availability, is at the same time the primary productive resource--means not only simply reducing production consumption per product unit but also must include a second side, namely increasing yields of agricultural products per unit of surface area.

Important prerequisites for making the transition to a money and labor-saving type of intensively expanded reproduction were created in agriculture in the 1960's and 1970's with the formation and development of a material and technical basis for agriculture.

At the same time conditions for scientific and technical progress were improved. The general realization of a money and labor-saving type of reproduction thus not only provides a strategic orientation in agriculture, but must also be seen as a current task which is to take shape based on scientific and technical progress. In the same way that science becomes an immediate productive force, the prerequisites are created for producing and utilizing more effective objectified labor at less expense.

Marx said in this regard, "At the rate at which large-scale industry develops, however, the creation of actual wealth is less dependent on the time worked and the quantum of applied effort than on the force of the agents? which are put in motion during work and which themselves in turn . . . have no relation to the actual working time it takes to produce them, being dependent rather on the general state of the art and level of progress in technology or on the application of this science to production." (Footnote 7) (Ibid., p 592)

Representing the economic benefits of measures of scientific and technical progress, in particular assigning them a value without paying due attention to

this relationship, means a disregard for the unity of production and reproduction and a lack of orientation toward the most efficient use of all resources. In addition to the use of indices to evaluate the development of overall costs, indices should for this reason also always be applied to evaluations of the individual facets of the reproduction process of the human and objectified labor involved and to the required one-time expenditure.

The suggested indices used in the growth inequalities can serve in this regard primarily as the basis for a complex, comprehensive evaluation. The following conclusions for estimating benefits can be drawn: the first two growth inequalities already express improvement in effectiveness. In this case a contribution is already made toward realizing the two basic effectiveness criteria. The other inequalities can be used to characterize the contribution to each specific type of reproduction. Satisfaction of the third inequality, for example, expresses that the labor-saving type of reproduction is being realized. Only when all three inequalities are satisfied is it an expression of the money and labor-saving type of reproduction.

These growth inequalities thus form the basis for a complex estimate of effectiveness. But in order to be able to grasp the complexity of the effects of need satisfaction, resource utilization and cost reduction, other indices representing the individual facets of the benefits--depending on the character and effective direction of the measures--are absolutely necessary.

Evaluating the economic benefits of measures of scientific and technical progress is not simply a matter of determining and measuring effectiveness but rather primarily of increasing it. It is a matter of determining what level of influence can be achieved with respect to a measure improving effectiveness in the sense of improved need satisfaction, improved utilization of resources and time saved. To that extent, a comparison of the level of effectiveness following the application of a measure at the basic time level represents an essential aspect in terms of evaluating the benefit. It must be pointed out, however, that economic benefit cannot be evaluated solely based on growth inequalities since for various reasons the level of the base value can deviate from the actual output capacity during the base time period. As a result, greater growth rates must be achieved in those areas where larger reserves exist. The development of effectiveness should therefore also be measured based on a comparison using peak values and guide values and by forming comparison groups. The objective is also to evaluate the progress made in terms of effectiveness on the basis of real development of actual output capacity within the time periods being compared. This is necessary in order to be able to take into account the peculiarities of agricultural production in the case of benefit limitations.

In using growth inequalities, however, it must be kept in mind that each economic benefit provided by measures of scientific and technical progress can either be linked to a social benefit or is converted more or less quickly into social results. Regarding the former, it is noteworthy that it was precisely in agriculture that socialist reforms were used to complete the basic transformations required to overcome historical backwardness. The use of measures of scientific and technical progress as a prerequisite for the development of the productive forces necessary for this step was therefore always directly

linked to the improvement of working and living conditions. For example, the acquisition of new, modern technology and the construction of new stalls was linked at the same time to the creation of jobs under social conditions on a par with those in modern industrial enterprises. Moreover, rationalization and reconstruction efforts in particular are frequently directed toward eliminating hard physical labor or overcoming extremely poor working conditions--things which do not produce an immediate increase in production or a change in the cost/benefit ratio.

Regarding the latter, however, it must also be kept in mind that increasing output in production in accordance with proven tenets of economic and social policy permits higher incomes for the cooperative farmers and laborers. The satisfaction of needs is directly effective as a driving force for increasing production because the income of the cooperative farmers is raised by increased output. For example, although the number of employees decreased to 70.1 percent while gross agricultural production increased to 171 percent in a comparison of the five-year planning periods 1961 to 1965 and 1976 to 1980, expenditures for human labor involved in the gross agricultural product grew to 118 percent. (Footnote 8) (See H. Reimann, G. Schmidt and K. Schmidt, "Transition of Socialist Agriculture to a Qualitative New Stage of Intensification--Essential Factor for Intensively Expanded Reproduction Within the National Economy," WIRTSCHAFTSWISSENSCHAFT, No 9, 1983, p 1286, 1291) Since part of the intensification effect thus achieved was translated directly into social results, the benefit expressed in terms of lower expenses must necessarily appear lower because the increasing compensation per unit of time is cost effective. The final result, produced by social divisions of labor, is that a stable end product which took less time to produce is not characterized by likewise reduced costs.

For the reasons given it is difficult to precisely quantify the economic benefits of measures of scientific and technical progress within agricultural enterprises. It is particularly complicated regarding measures which have an immediate effect on yield increases. In general it is possible with the current state of the art of accounting and statistics to determine expenses and results for the base time period and for the application time period. But since yields are influenced by many factors within a year and therefore are not linear with respect to the level of expenditures made, benefits cannot be determined directly. An exact measurement of the influence of all yield-increasing factors would be the prerequisite for being able to determine the benefits.

Currently proving useful under these conditions are simplified forms and methods of benefit calculations and accounting which are based on the economic benefits determined in the scientific experiments of research facilities and in large-scale tests. Proceeding from the results achieved here and using indices which represent the essential facets of the benefits of the measures implemented, the achievable economic results corresponding to concrete conditions and situations are estimated and calculated taking into account the intended scope of application of those measures.

The situation with regard to determining the benefits of the measures of scientific and technical progress in animal production is similarly complicated. Here it must be pointed out that possible output levels depend above all on the amount and quality of the feed. Since with animals a certain constant amount of the feed used is required to maintain the basic life functions, it follows that with increasing output the percentage of the overall amount of feed representing this basic requirement decreases and less food energy is needed per product unit. Depending on the possible amounts of feed used, more or less high output levels are achieved whereby, similar to plant production, the benefits of the measures of scientific and technical progress are not a direct measure of output growth.

Unlike plant production, the influence of the quality and quantity of the feed used in animal production is measurable. The measurements can be used to calculate the effect of a single measure of scientific and technical progress.

In plant production it is possible using correlation and regression analysis to determine the influence of factors which effect yield development. Currently, however, scarcely any conditions exist in practice whereby these factors could be precisely determined and quantified.

The conclusions which therefore result regarding the calculation of economic benefits and providing evidence of the development of effectiveness are:

/First,/ (in italics) benefits can only be determined by comparing the yield level before implementation of the measure with the yield level after implementation. In order to eliminate weather-related influences, either longer time periods must be compared or comparable conditions must be created through partial implementation of a measure all at once within one year. The latter is not directed toward achieving new results at a high rate of expansion. An evaluation of such comparisons using trend calculations can be used to express whether a level of yield development once achieved can be maintained under conditions of implementing new findings.

/Second,/ (in italics) it must be taken into account that a comparison of the implementation time periods does not represent the benefits of individual measures but rather all the measures implemented within a year, based on the production process. Such a comparison always includes the fact that the yield development shown represents the complex effect of all measures implemented. In addition, it must be kept in mind that continually, year after year, new scientific and technical knowledge is added, and therefore yield development must be seen as the result of a dynamic transferral process.

Benefit Planning and Accounting as a Scientific Management Task

The immediate significance of benefit planning in the LPG's and state farms is not just to provide evidence of progress in terms of effectiveness. Above all it permits a greater level of reality in planning the agricultural production process, particularly the development of yields and costs. Representing the benefits with greater certainty creates the prerequisites for being able to establish the output and effectiveness developments being considered as early as the planning stage. Under cooperative socialist production conditions,

this produces a stimulating effect which, in terms of exhausting all the possibilities of scientific and technical progress in implementing the plan, should not be underestimated.

In agriculture, just as in industry, scientific and technical knowledge and results are to be applied which are translated into production more or less in the form of objectified labor, in other words, "requiring a substrate existing in the form of objectified labor." (Footnote 9) (K. Marx, "Outline of Criticism of the Political Economy," op. cit., p 651) The scientific efforts which are particularly advantageous in terms of implementing a labor and money-saving type of reproduction are those which "cost nothing," for example where technological processes are improved through better adherence to agrotechnical deadlines, the use of scientific crop rotation, shortening transport distances by optimizing transports, reducing pressure on the soil by improving the mass to output ratio of technology, etc. In the case of scientific efforts which are "objectified" and can "only be acquired through equivalents," the use-value of the improved production resources involves increasing the productive force of labor and reducing the work required.

"Capital fixes, the use of which would cost more than that of human labor, i.e. which required more human labor to produce or maintain than they replaced, would be a nuisance." (Footnote 10) (Ibid., p 652) These inter-relationships, revealed by Marx to exist under capitalist conditions, when applied to socialist production relationships in agriculture, show that science can only be effective as a productive force to the extent that the knowledge brought forth is used within the broadest scope possible and with the greatest possible effect. Despite all existing problems, it is necessary to provide this evidence by using the economic plan and rendering the accounts of the measures of scientific and technical progress. Although Marx characterized "scientific power" as a "productive force which . . . costs nothing," it must be assumed that part of the centralized net income of society, to which agriculture must also make its contribution, is used to maintain and develop scientific research facilities. In addition, the effects of the increase in knowledge on production, by permitting greater centralization of net income and by increasing the responsibilities of the scientific field, form the basis for even more effective scientific problem solving. Evidence of economic usefulness is thus an important condition in terms of the book-keeping and controls which are necessary under socialist production relationships.

The more clearly benefits for the individual cooperative farmer, the brigade, the department, and the overall enterprise can be demonstrated, the more definitely implementation of the measures can be organized. In so doing, not just the dynamics of the efforts and expenditures made are to be recorded in the keeping of accounts. At the same time the complex effects of plant and animal production on the reproduction process must be recorded and must show what conclusions and requirements are derived or result in terms of planning the structure of the relationship between plant and animal production, establishing the production structures, making funds available and reproducing labor capacity.

An essential requirement for being able to make definite plans regarding economic usefulness in agriculture and take its peculiarities into account is that the necessary information be made available. In principle, it can be assumed that every LPG and state farm involved in plant or animal production each year obtains new scientific and technical knowledge within the various production processes--expertise which originated in various scientific facilities. The successful and far-reaching transferral of this knowledge produced by the research facilities under diverse and varied practical conditions requires purposeful information as to economic usefulness--how usefulness was able to be achieved under experimental conditions--the large-scale testing in conjunction with the scientific facilities. This information must enable the management cadres in the LPG's and state farms to implement new findings and results under their own specific conditions. At the same time the information must provide an indication of the economic benefit to be expected.

Under agricultural conditions, where most of the LPG's and state farms have no direct contact with the research facilities whose scientific results they implement, a well functioning transferral mechanism requires the following general information regarding transferrable findings and results:

- The conditions for implementing the measures must be precisely defined. In this regard one must proceed from the fact that in plant production nearly all the main cultivation areas under nearly all local conditions have to be planted at very different levels of fertility and under various climatic conditions. The scientific and technical measures to be implemented have varying effects. It must therefore be clear under what local, climatic and technological conditions a measure is to be implemented and when it is not.
- The necessary funds and capacity must be stated. This is necessary for including the measures in the corresponding national economic balance sheets and for testing their ability to be realized on the basis of available funds and reserves. In addition, only on this basis is it possible to make a concrete calculation of the financial costs and benefits. But information as to the structure of expenditures, as well as possible savings (particularly in terms of materials and energy) and changes in processing costs is also likewise necessary.
- The effects on yield or output must also be stated. From them conclusions can be drawn concerning the development of the gross product and the expansion, as needed, of the quantity of agricultural products. Here, too, it must be kept in mind that very different effects can be achieved under diverse natural and economic production conditions. The information content must therefore permit calculations under concrete conditions which provide "from-to" intervals in conjunction with the conditions for implementation.
- Additional information should refer to complex effects on the agricultural reproduction process and point out the influence of these effects on prior and subsequent production stages. In this regard it is to be assumed that a close reciprocal effect between natural and economic reproduction processes will be established. The immediate effects on job content and necessary qualification measures or on improving working conditions should also be made clear.

In making this information available, basic requirements arise for organizing transferral under the concrete natural and economic conditions prevailing in

each case and for calculating the effects thus involved. At the same time the use of indices which indicate the essential facets of the benefits produced by a measure or complex of measures has proved useful. (Footnote 11) (See M. Eberhardt, "Proving the Economic Benefits of Measures of Scientific and Technical Progress Within the Enterprise," FELDWIRTSCHAFT, No 12, 1985, p 548ff) In order to ensure that information on new scientific findings and results is put into practice as quickly as possible to its full extent and provides the greatest possible benefit, the following items have proven useful under GDR agricultural conditions:

- The provision of systematic training and continuing education for all enterprise management cadres, and information in technical publications.
- Workplace-specific continuing education for cooperative farmers and laborers in the form of winter-time classes.
- Holding user seminars in special consultation enterprises with all specialists present.
- Providing specific user recommendations regarding the new findings.
- Enterprise-specific consultation and support in terms of integration of the new findings into the enterprise economy.

The centers for science and technology assume special responsibilities in this regard. During the transferral process they must act primarily as intermediaries between science and production. Therefore, the basic requirement within the scope of consultative activities is to manage each LPG and each state farm and for managers and specialists to display the necessary attitude in implementing the new findings such that the greatest possible benefit is achieved. In order to do this, a true partnership must exist between the consulting forces of the centers for science and technology and the cooperative farmers and laborers. Under the diverse and various conditions which exist in agriculture, consultative activities require trust and discipline, and combines such elements as information, education, management and controls. As a special form of assistance and support from the socialist state for the LPG's and state farms, these activities involving the transferral of new findings involve primarily the following:

- Making it evident that reserves are available and can be used.
- Developing enterprise-specific ways of using the reserves in conjunction with implementation of the new findings.
- Providing support in terms of creating the material and technical conditions needed to realize the methods suggested.
- Demonstrating economic benefit in conjunction with consultations and user seminars and by preparing enterprise management projects.
- Support and controls with respect to practical realization of the measures.

Consultative activities at the centers for science and technology, which target a high level of benefits, require close, coordinated cooperation with the specialized agencies for agriculture and the foodstuffs industry under auspices of the local councils within the kreis. As the level within the system of state leadership in agriculture which is immediately superior to the LPG's and their cooperative councils, the specialized agencies bear a great

deal of responsibility for the prompt transferral of increased new findings. Greater benefits are therefore achieved from the measures to be implemented primarily when consultative efforts are in tune with those of the specialized agencies and there are joint efforts to create the necessary prerequisites. Economic benefit is also ultimately an essential criterion in terms of the decisions regarding further implementation at the level of the local state agencies. Under agricultural conditions the transfer of new findings has frequently been a slow process because not all of the management cadres were familiar with the consequences and effects of transferring the new findings or were not able to see the whole picture. Effective and more definite consultative activities therefore require progress in this area. Based on economic strategy, the actions of the cooperative farmers and laborers in the LPG's and state farms is directed toward constantly increasing production and improving its effectiveness. As a result, the introduction of new findings is linked to the benefits provided to the individual, the collective and society. Although calculations are a part of the tradition of agricultural commerce and management, this aspect is taking on greater significance as a direct factor affecting the development of productivity and effectiveness under conditions of more limited resources and developments in science. Due to the problems and peculiarities presented, the calculation of economic benefits is above all a task which is included in the consultative activities of the centers for science and technology; the main areas where a focus of effort is needed are given below:

- Information on the benefits of new scientific findings based on the results obtained by scientific facilities in large-scale testing and experiments.
- Recalculation of the benefits proven by the scientific facilities corresponding to the concrete natural and economic production conditions within the territory or enterprise.
- Calculation of the economic benefits of the measures of scientific and technical progress within the scope of preparing enterprise-specific types of solutions.

Proceeding from the growth inequalities given above in this report and the specific effects of the measures in question, those indices to be determined in particular are in-house product development, costs, labor productivity, intensity of production consumption and the return time involved with individual applications. As a rule, the economic effects can be adequately characterized using these indices. Under certain circumstances, however, more extensive calculations may also be necessary. For example, when measures for increasing the amounts of coarse fodder take effect at the same time that improvements in coarse fodder quality are achieved, food concentrates can be saved or released for the purpose of increased output in animal production. These kinds of complex effects can be rationally calculated using combined balance sheets based on a comparison of variables. (Footnote 12) (See H. Hagedorn, "Suggestions for Planning the Measures of Scientific and Technical Progress . . .," op. cit.)

Ever better planning of economic benefits forms the basis for further steps in rendering the accounts of these measures and proving the actual benefits achieved. At the same time progress in this area depends on better controlling and more precisely quantifying all factors which influence yield and for

which additional research-related prerequisites must be generated. Independently of this, monitoring the orderly and conscientious implementation of all measures based on parameters for which accounts can be rendered must more and more become the focal point from which benefits achieved experimentally can also be assumed to be benefits for the enterprise given their orderly implementation within that enterprise.

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AGRICULTURE

POLAND

FOOD INDUSTRY INVESTMENT STRATEGIES CRITICIZED

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[Article by Prof Eugeniusz Gorzelak, Department of the Economics of Agriculture and the Food Industry, Main School of Planning and Statistics, Warsaw: "Role of Investments in the Food Industry"]

[Text] A condition for the proper performance of the food industry is the free flow of goods and services, in which, in its turn, space and time play a tremendous role. This is because the production, turnover, and processing of food take place continuously and over vast tracts of land. Thus, considerable harmony must exist among discrete elements in the food-industry complex. There exist many regulators conducive to this harmony, and one of them, perhaps the most important one, is investment outlays. This is demonstrated by a comparison of the developed and undeveloped countries. The former, even when their farm area per capita is very small, produce a great deal of quality food (as exemplified by Japan, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, and the FRG), whereas the latter, even when they have a large farm area per capita, are non-selfsufficient in food production and often are struck by famine. This situation is decisively influenced by the availability of means of production of nonfarm origin and, generally speaking, by the ability to invest in discrete links of the food-industry chain. A primitive and underdeveloped economy lacks both means of crop cultivation and substitutes or facilitators of human labor; it also lacks means of transportation, storage facilities, and the entire remaining infrastructure as well as facilities for processing agricultural raw materials and good organization and astute management. In a developed economy, agriculture benefits from achievements of science and modern means of production, and it is supported by a well-developed service industry; industrial processing and food trade also play a major role in the developed economy.

It is not very difficult to determine the place of our country: we rank in the middle, although we are much closer to the positive pole.

The growth rate of food industry is largely contingent on the selection of the economic strategy or, more exactly, on the extent of preferences accorded to agriculture and other elements of the food-industry complex in development concepts. Concerning this subject, two schools of thought exist in the world: the first advocates prioritizing industrial development and the second, prioritizing agricultural development. There also exists a concept of

harmonious development of both sectors, but it concerns advanced rather initial stages of their development. On the basis of experience, it can be stated that primacy of industry has been preferred in the socialist countries (though no longer so at present), and it is now producing its inevitable consequences. In Poland, unfortunately, the concept of the primacy of industry still prevails, although much is being written and said about the need to restructure the national economy.

This is demonstrated by the disregard of the investment needs of the food industry. As known, in January 1983 the Ninth Joint Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the ZSL [United Peasant Party] Supreme Committee had adopted a resolution to the effect that investment outlays on developing the food industry should be close to 30 percent of overall investment outlays in this country. For many reasons it so happened that during the years 1983-1985 they did not exceed 25 percent; a major reason was because many political and economic activists saw no need to set up the proportions specified by the Ninth Plenum. This of course reflects their own development concept of the national economy — a concept that is not too favorable to accelerating the development of the food industry.

Share of the Food Industry in Investment Outlays

The decision to allocate 30 percent of total investment outlays on the food industry was and continues to be questioned by certain economists, and not just because this might be too little or too much but because this indicator is of an arbitrary nature and does not reflect the actual needs of the economy. As known, investment outlays were drastically reduced after 1977, chiefly in order to maintain, or assuage the decrease in, the level of consumption in a situation in which national income began to diminish. In 1982 these outlays were barely half as high as in 1977. In such a situation, the Plenum's resolution was intended to protect the food industry because it was not among the stronger competitors for investments, although it was and is a most important branch of the national economy (accounting for one-third of manpower resources and generating one-fourth of national income). Thus, the envisaged investment outlays were divided somewhat arbitrarily (subjectively) as follows: 30 percent for the food industry, 30 percent for housing, 14.5 percent for the fuel and energy industry, and 25.5 percent for all the other purposes. But life, as known, does not follow such arbitrary decisions, and there is nothing surprising in that in reality the proportions turned out to be different: among other things, more was allocated for housing and the fuel and energy industry and less for the food industry -- with evident harm to the growth of food production.

Investment outlays on developing the food industry must be apportioned among many purposes and subjects. They comprise both production purposes, i.e., expanding the production potential, and consumption purposes, i.e., housing construction, social and cultural facilities, etc. The resolution of the Ninth Joint Plenum concerns precisely the whole of production and consumption outlays. But there also exists another standpoint, from which investment outlays on production purposes alone are considered. Seen from this standpoint, the share of the food industry in these outlays has recently exceeded 30 percent (Table 1).

Table 1. Share of the Food Industry in Overall Investment Outlays on Production and Fixed Capital (in current prices, in percent)

Subject	1978	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
Share of food industry in investment outlays on production	29.4	29.6	34.4	36.6	36.3	34.4
Share of food industry in gross value of fixed capital	29.1	29.5	29.9	30.6	35.2*	35.2

*Adjusted

Source: Statistical yearbooks of the GUS [Main Office of Statistics]

It should be borne in mind that in February 1982 a general adjustment of producer, retail, and procurement prices was carried out in this country, and that it was followed by an adjustment of the gross value of fixed capital for the national economy as a whole, which resulted in causing the prices of that capital in the food industry to rise faster than in other branches of the economy: this contributed to increasing the share of the food industry in the gross value of fixed capital as well as in overall investment outlays. However, this increase was merely nominal, since there occurred no turnaround in the division of investment outlays in favor of the food industry.

The Main Office of Statistics conducts only limited surveys of the food industry. It includes in that industry: agriculture, socialized food processing industry, and the industry manufacturing means of production for agriculture and food processing. It thus omits nonsocialized small industry, agricultural turnover, the food trade, and all kinds of production services. Were these omitted sectors to be added, it would turn out that the share of the food industry is a couple of points higher. A separate question is the structure of investment outlays in the food industry itself.

Analysis of data on investment outlays and resources of fixed capital in discrete elements of the food industry (see Table 2) indicates that the part of these outlays and resources allocated for the food processing industry and the industry manufacturing means of production for other elements of the food industry is too low. So far too little has been invested in these two elements of the food industry, so that as a result at present the supply of means of production for agriculture and food-processing industry is insufficient and many subsectors of the food-processing industry have insufficient capacity. Thus that needed harmony among elements of the food industry is lacking.

Table 2. Investment Outlays and Fixed Capital in the Food Industry
(in billions of zloty, in current prices)

Subject	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	
							billions of zloty
	Outlays on Production Investments						%
Total	103.4	127.5	115.6	248.9	307.4	379.8	100.0
Agriculture	72.4	97.7	87.9	196.8	243.8	294.7	77.6
Food-processing industry	23.9	16.8	17.2	37.2	43.3	56.5	14.9
Industry manufacturing means of production for:							
Agriculture	6.6	12.4	10.1	13.7	18.8	26.6	7.0
Food-processing industry	0.5	0.6	0.4	1.2	1.5	2.0	0.5
	Fixed Capital						
Total	934	1,477	1,572	1,739	7,247	7,515	100.0
Agriculture	725	1,155	1,234	1,378	6,088	6,305	83.6
Food-processing industry	145	221	232	243	785	805	10.7
Industry manufacturing means of production for:							
Agriculture	61	95	99	112	352	381	5.1
Food-processing industry	3	6	7	7	23	24	0.3

Source: GUS statistical yearbooks.

Each element of the food industry is represented by enterprises of greatly varying nature and size. This concerns both large key-industry plants, such as those manufacturing farm tractors, grain combine harvesters, and nitrogenous fertilizers, or those processing grain, meat, milk, and other farm produce, and a large number of small production and services units. Clearly, their economics differ, as does their need for investments, and the scale and time frame of implementation of their investments also differ. Their financing procedures also differ.

Sources for Financing Investments

There exist four sources for funding investments in the food industry, namely: the central budget, the budgets of voivodship people's councils, the liquid capital of the enterprises themselves, and private capital. As the economic reform progresses, the role of central sources is diminishing and that of the liquid capital of the enterprises themselves and of private capital is growing. Bank credit has become another major source. On the scale of the socialized sector of the economy as a whole, bank credit is a major, although declining, factor in investment funding: in 1982 it accounted for 57.3 percent of investment funding; in 1983, for 47.9 percent; and in 1984, for about 40 percent. The central budget funds directly major investment projects of national importance, e.g., the nitrogen-and-phosphorus plants in Police and the tractor factory at URSUS. Such projects as land reclamation and rural water supply are funded partially from the central budget and partially from local budgets. These projects are decided upon by voivodship people's councils, as are many others relating to, e.g., education, health, culture, etc.

The largest role in investment decisionmaking is played by the enterprises themselves. But for a substantial part of enterprises, both in agriculture and in the food-processing industry, the investment possibilities are limited owing to scant liquid capital, which in its turn is due to either low profitability of production or small scale of operations. A large part of enterprises must sell products at rigid official prices which prevent them from operating very profitably. A large part of them also benefits from budget subsidies, which curtails the possibilities for accumulating their own liquid capital.

Investment activities on private peasant farms are of a special nature. In 1984 these farms implemented production investments worth 162 billion zloty. This accounted for 54.8 percent of all investment outlays on agricultural production and 42.5 percent of all investment outlays on the food industry. As known, private farming is extremely differentiated in many respects, and also as regards financial resources and proneness to invest. Its financial resources are limited, and that is why in 1984 the banks granted 42 billion zloty in loans to the nonsocialized sector of agriculture; this accounted for more than 26 percent of all investment outlays; it can thus be stated that, had not it been for these loans, investment outlays would have been that much lower.

Investment outlays on private farms are limited not only by the availability of financial resources. Another major limiting factor is the excessively low supply of means of production. On the other hand, proneness to invest is high and growing in private agriculture. On the basis of studies conducted at the Institute of the Economics of Agriculture and the Food Industry it can be stated that in private agriculture the share of investment outlays in farm incomes was as follows (after deducting bank loans for investments): 3.3 percent in 1960-1969, 4.5 percent in 1970-1979, 5.6 percent in 1980-1984, and 11.2 percent in 1984-1985. (Footnote) (These studies were conducted by Professor Z. Grochowski.)

It ensues from these considerations that investment processes in the food industry are complicated, because they hinge on a large number of factors in decisionmaking and encounter many restrictions and difficulties.

Internal Cohesiveness Of Investment Outlays

The need to integrate and synchronize investment outlays in the food industry is commonly emphasized. This need may be illustrated by the following example: In the early 1960's the decision to radically increase the application of mineral fertilizers was finally taken. The level of that application had been low, amounting to 36.5 kg of NPK [nitrogen-phosphorus-potassium] per hectare of farmland. The decision to increase the application of fertilizers was based on information collected by the FAO, according to which 50 percent of the increase in the world crop output is attributable to fertilizers and the other 50 percent, to all other factors, such as irrigation, pesticides, a good agrotechnical level, etc.

A radical increase in the application of fertilizers required expanding the output of nitrogenous and phosphoric fertilizers and commencing large-scale imports of potash salts. The expansion of the production potential of the fertilizer industry took many years and resulted in a number of giant plants (in Pulawy, Tarnow, Kedzierzyn, Wloclawek, and elsewhere). In recent years the production of multicomponent fertilizers, which are superior to their monocomponents counterparts owing to a higher content of nutrients, was expanded (at Police). In addition, the production of fertilizer lime and magnesium fertilizers is increasing.

Multibillion outlays for the expansion of the fertilizer industry were -- and still are being -- allocated directly from the state budget. This has resulted in a rapid growth in the application of fertilizers -- from 35.6 kg per hectare in 1960 to 124 kg in 1970 and 193 kg in 1975. In the late 1970's this growth had halted, and in the early 1980's it even regressed (to 175 kg per hectare) owing to many reasons, including the crisis.

The decision to expand the fertilizer industry produced varied effects requiring additional investment outlays of an ancillary nature, and primarily the expansion of transport, the production of tare, and the construction of storage facilities. The production of fertilizers is a continuous process, but their consumption is a seasonal process. Thus, fertilizers have to be packaged in something and stored someplace, and they also have to be transported by some means and subsequently applied during the proper season. Hence, it is necessary to manufacture appropriate means of transportation, tare, and fertilizer spreaders. All this requires building suitable production facilities, which in its turn again requires specific investment outlays. These facilities can, of course, be imported, but this requires an equivalent amount of exports, which also means additional investments.

In agriculture itself there exists the need to take concurrently measures that would enhance the effect of mineral fertilizers. This concerns a broad variety of activities: water regulation, that is, land reclamation; good agrotechnical measures, that is, the use of appropriate machinery; biological advances, that

is, the breeding and dissemination of high-yielding seeds and livestock; chemical protection, etc. None of these activities can be effectively implemented without additional investment outlays. Were they to be omitted, the effects of the application of fertilizers would be much smaller, for agricultural production is governed by the so-called law of the minimum, meaning that the effectiveness of production is determined by the factor that happens to be minimal. (Footnote) (This is Liebig's law, which refers to a nineteenth-century German agricultural chemist. It is easiest to explain this law by drawing an analogy to a barrel one of whose staves has been sawed off. It can be filled with water only up to the level of the sawn-off stave.)

Let us assume that all the needed investment outlays are implemented in agriculture, in accordance with the requirements of science. In this case, an increase in agricultural output is to be expected. Actually, if that output is measured in terms of constant prices and its mean annual level during the 1961-1965 period be taken as the base level of 100, we find that it reached a level of 108.3 in 1965, 119.4 in 1970, and 140.2 in 1976, and subsequently it declined so that it surpassed that last level only in 1984 (147.6). Incidentally, during that period of decline, the growth rate of crop output had not been impressive, as it amounted to only 1.9 percent annually. This was due to disregard of the principle of comprehensiveness of actions; among other things, this was due to neglect of land reclamation measures, of chemical protection of crops, etc.

An increase in crop output also requires investment outlays on resources and facilities for the harvesting, storage, sales, and processing of surplus crops. In its turn, an increase in the livestock population requires additional livestock pens and appropriate mechanization of operations. (Footnote) (In 1960 the cattle population in this country was 8.7 million head and in 1978, 13.1 million head, while the corresponding figures on the hog population were 12.6 and 21.7 million head, respectively.) Since farm employment is gradually declining, an increasing number of machines and implements replacing or easing human labor has to be introduced in agriculture. Thus, investment outlays have also to be made in the industrial subsectors manufacturing that machinery and implements, and by extension in the subsectors producing building materials, means of transportation, etc.

A general pattern of development of the food industry in this country is the expansion and deepening of the social division of labor. An increasing part of output leaves agriculture and is transmitted through the procurement apparatus to the food-processing industry. This thus requires the preemptive expansion of the capacities of all subsectors of the food-processing industry, particularly those in which the influx of raw materials for processing is the greatest. But this requirement is not always being met. It is precisely here that we locate a major symptom of the absence of integration and synchronization of investment outlays in the food industry. That is why the capacities of the food-processing industry prove inadequate in periods of a dynamic growth of farm output. This is what happened in the meat-processing subsector during the years 1971-1975, this is what is happening in the dairy subsector in the 1980's, and this is what will continue to happen for a couple of years in many other subsectors (flour-milling, baking, oilmaking, etc.),

unless investment effort is redoubled. To be sure, the development program for the food industry adopted by the Sejm in December 1984 provides for the expansion of the deficit subsectors of that industry, but the actually spent investment outlays cover barely one-half of these needs.

We thus see what multisided relations bind the food industry and how indispensable is the coordination of investment processes in its discrete elements.

Geographical Pattern of Investment Outlays

The production potential of the food industry still remains nonuniformly distributed geographically, as demonstrated by the marked differences in scale of production, fixed capital, and investment outlays per hectare of farmland and per capita. Fig. 1 shows the differences in size of procurements of farm products, expressed in grain units. As can be seen, they are quite considerable, ranging from 13 to 40 grain units per hectare of farmland. This is due to many reasons: soil quality, level of cultivation, productivity of crops and livestock, extent of natural [on-farm] consumption, agrarian structure, population density, etc. In their turn, Figs. 2 and 3 illustrate the geographical pattern of investment outlays on production in agriculture during the years 1977 and 1984. It turns out that in the past the northwestern voivodships with their high share of the socialized sector had been especially privileged, whereas more recently it is the voivodships in central Poland and the Subcarpathians that receive priority. On the other hand, both in the past and at present, the eastern voivodships have been receiving low priority. In the two figures the chart patterns (reflecting procurements and investment outlays) overlap only to a certain extent.

The siting of food-processing plants must take into account the differences in procurements of agricultural produce as well as in the absorption capacity of consumption centers. Sugar factories, for example, should be built in the vicinity of sugar beet farms, while bakeries should be built in the vicinity of population clusters. Other types of plants may have greater siting freedom. That is why, in the economics and organization of the food-processing industry, a distinction is made between the agricultural hinterland producing raw materials and the food-supply zones.

Fig. 1

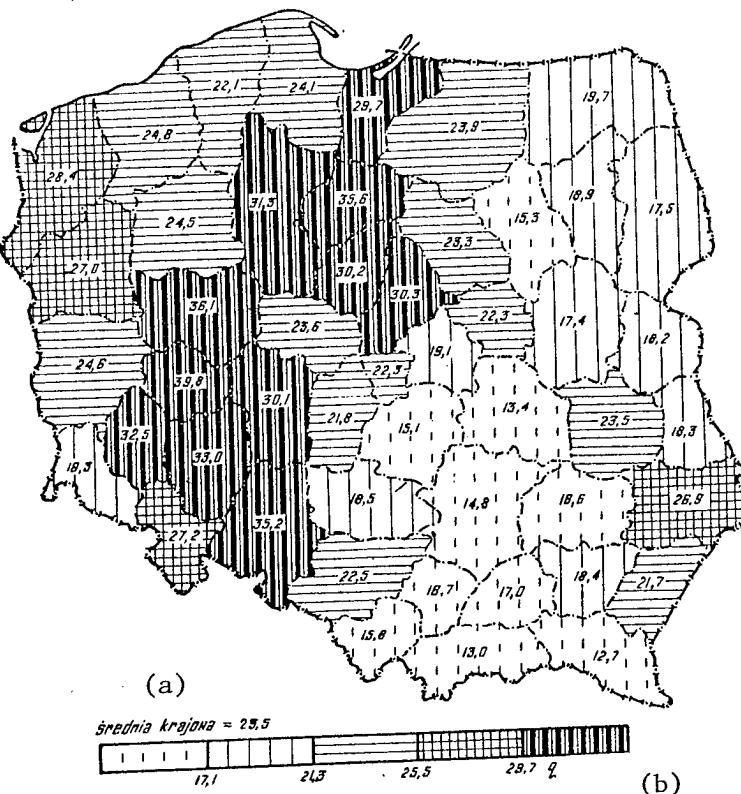


Fig. 1. Procurements of Agricultural Products per Hectare of Farmland in Terms of Grain Units in 1984.

a: Nationwide average; b: quintals.

Source: Prepared by author on the basis of numerical data in the 1985 Statistical Yearbook of the GUS.

Fig. 2

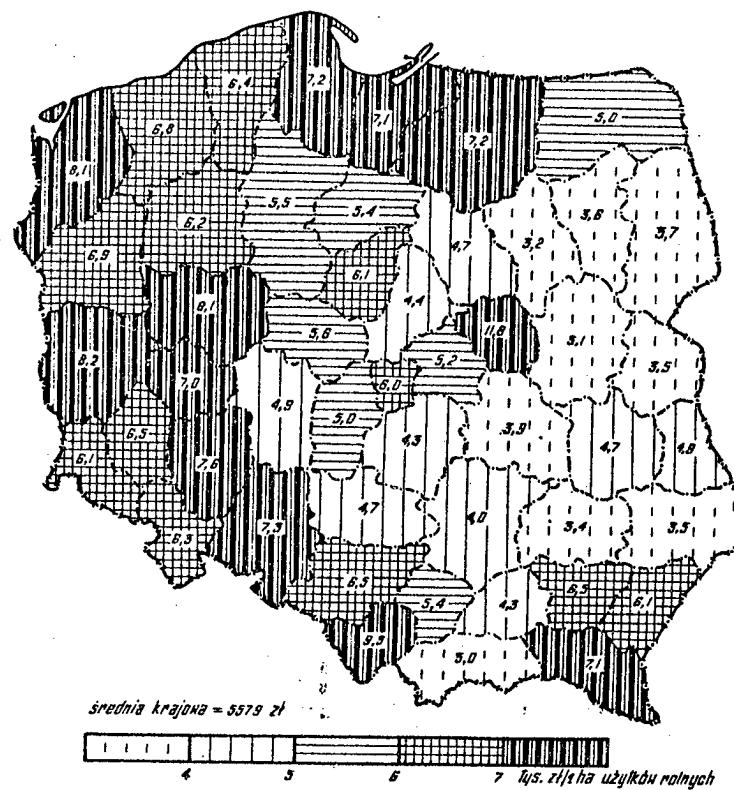


Fig. 2. Investment Outlays on Agricultural Production in 1977.

a: Nationwide average 5,579 zloty; '000 zloty per hectare of farmland.

Source: Prepared by author on the basis of numerical data in 1978 Statistical Yearbook of the GUS.

Fig. 3

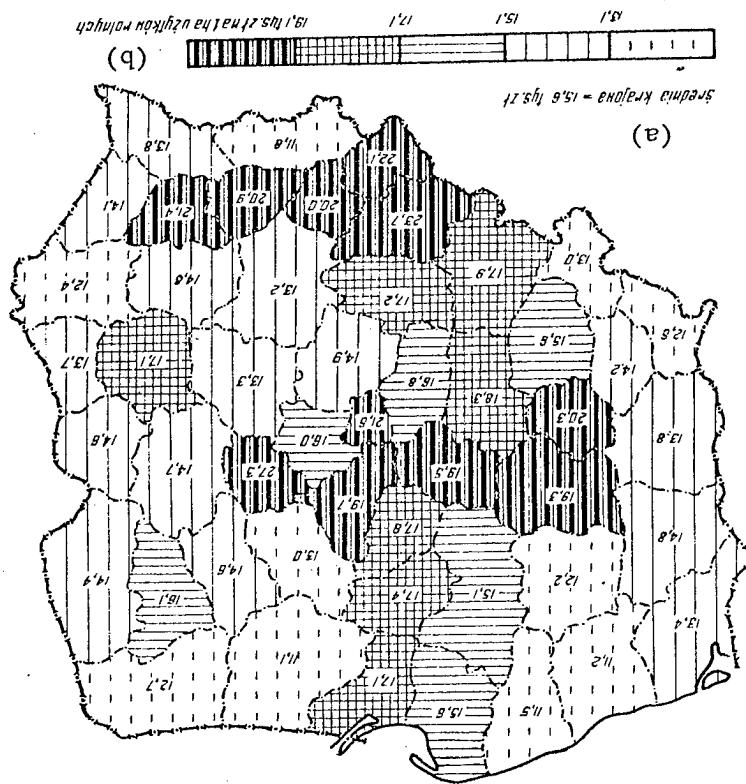


Fig. 3. Investment Outlays on Agricultural Production in 1984.
a. Nationwide Average 15,600 zloty; '000 zloty per hectare of farmland.

Source: Prepared by author on the basis of numerical data in 1985 Statistical Yearbook of the GUS

In the typically agricultural voivodships even inadequately expanded food-processing industry often accounts for more than 50 percent of their overall industrial output, and it should be given considerable attention in investment policy so as to prevent the economic decline of these voivodships, and particularly migration to other voivodships and underdevelopment of infrastructure. The conveyance of agricultural raw materials from these voivodships to others increases the cost of transportation and often results in deficit operations, and moreover it reduces the local fodder base. These agricultural voivodships are predestined to create organized and comprehensive food bases producing final products with a high degree of processing.

However, a substantial part of food has to be produced in the vicinity of major urban agglomerations (e.g., milk, baked goods, perishable fruits and vegetables, etc.). This, of course, requires an appropriate siting of investment outlays. The present pattern of geographical distribution of food-industry plants is not adequately adapted to both the centers producing agricultural raw materials and the new major urban agglomerations. It lags behind the changes occurring in production and consumption.

The matter is complicated by the seasonal nature of the production of agricultural raw materials, such that their flow cannot be considered continuous and allowance must be made for peak periods. For while the seasonality of livestock production can be to some extent controlled, this simply cannot be done with crop production. Hence, production capacities, production services, storage area, transportation, etc., must be so expanded as to cope with peak periods. But the extent to which they can cope with these peak periods should be decided by the cost-effectiveness factor.

A Tentative Assessment of Investment Policy

It is evident that investment outlays on the food industry throughout the postwar period have been and continue to be too small to meet the expectations of the society. This is due to, on the one hand, the country's economic backwardness and the adopted development strategy favoring heavy industry, and on the other, to mystic thinking that things will somehow right themselves because the effects of agriculture, e.g., do not depend solely on the amount of investment outlays, because there still exists tremendous latent potential in agriculture, and so on. It must be stated that attitudes of this kind persist to this day, too, in, among others, members of the state leadership, which means that their radical overcoming is a prerequisite for a genuine expansion of the food industry.

Reservations may be elicited by not only the excessively low size of investment outlays on the food industry, in absolute figures, but also their intrinsic structure. These outlays often are not coordinated. The industries manufacturing means of production for agriculture and certain subsectors of the food-processing, storage, and refrigeration industries, were and still are bottlenecks. As regards agriculture itself, insufficient attention has been devoted to land reclamation and water supply. The inadequate outlays on the expansion of the facilities for the production of chemical crop protectants have caused the level of harvests to be 20-30 percent too low.

As regards the division of investment outlays among discrete elements of the food industry, little foresight has been shown. In particular, the development needs of certain subsectors of the food-processing industry were poorly anticipated. That is why the substantial increases in crop output during favorable periods could not be properly utilized owing to the shortage of adequate processing capacities. This is what had happened in the late 1950's and in the first half of the 1970's, and this is what is happening at present. It should be clear that only the granting of investment priority to the food industry can -- through an increase in the production of agricultural raw materials, reduction of waste, and refinement of processing operations -- assure the society of good and healthy nutrition.

ECONOMY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

NEW TECHNOLOGY COLLEGE OPENS IN SLOVAKIA

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Sep 86 p 2

[Item by CTK: "New College of the Slovak Institute of Technology"]

[Text] The new college of machine technology headquartered in Trnava--the sixth college of the Slovak Institute of Technology--inaugurated its academic year on Monday with the participation of Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and the first secretary of the CSL Central Committee; Ignac Janak, candidate for the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and first secretary of the West Slovakia Kraj Committee of the CSL, and Ludovit Kilar, minister of education of the SSR.

Academician Anton Blazej, chancellor of the Slovak Institute of Technology in Bratislava, outlined the task of the college which is to implement the policy of the party's congress--to provide expeditiously high-level training of engineering and technical cadres for main branches of our national economy such as machine engineering, electrical engineering and other industries. The college was founded on the basis of the CSSR government's decision in force since January 1986. The new college has at present 1,050 students registered for the 5-year course of studies in four areas: machine engineering; automated control systems of production; economics and management of machine engineering production; and production systems including robots and manipulators.

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ECONOMY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

FIGHT AGAINST ALCOHOLISM GATHERS MOMENTUM

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Sept 86 p 3

[Article by Josef Rericha: "What the Tests Revealed"]

[Excerpt] The editorial entitled "Alcohol Does Not Belong in the Workplace," recently published in RUDE PRAVO (13 August), prompted a lively reaction from its readers.

The fact that the fight against alcoholism in enterprises is no longer just a topic of speeches and warnings has also been confirmed by examples published a few days ago on the front page of No 34 of JISKRA, a weekly of the VZSKG [Klement Gottwald Iron and Machinery Works in Vitkovice]. Among other things, it notes 3 fatal accidents and one serious injury in the Vitkovice syndicate which were caused last year by the victims' heavy alcohol intoxication. But are the victims the only ones to blame? After all, their co-workers must have known that they were drunk because the accidents occurred after the victims had been at work in the factory for 2 and 7 hours, respectively.

As mentioned in the article, no serious accident at work has been caused by intoxication in the first 6 months of this year, but was it because no one was drinking? Let us take a look at the results of the breath tests. In the enterprises of this syndicate 5,066 such tests disclosed 391 cases of alcohol intake and resulted in 63 reprimands and 69 public reprimands; in 219 cases bonuses amounting to more than Kcs 86,000 were docked or completely cancelled, and 21 employees were transferred to less lucrative jobs.

Let us presume that the penalties were in proportion to the offense and that they will serve as a lesson to others. Nevertheless, the fight has not ended against those who come to work with a certain amount of alcohol in their blood or who get drunk during working hours in the factories of this VHJ [economic production unit]. Foreign-made detection equipment will be available for more accurate and prompt control. Such equipment is already being used in the largest enterprise of this syndicate, the VZSKG. It is quite possible that because of the steps initiated by the syndicate, no serious occupational accident has been caused by intoxication in the first half of this year.

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ECONOMY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

RESTAURANTS, DINERS LOSING MONEY

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Oct 86 p 4

[Article by Dr Rudolf Borovy: "More Personal Responsibility"]

[Text] According to last year's results, the Restaurace a Jidelny CSR [Restaurants and Dining Facilities of the CSR - RAJ] fell short of their goal by more than Kcs 151 million and the cooperative hostelry services by Kcs 21-1/2 million. Only the Interhotel chain exceeded the plan by almost Kcs 43 million; however, even in its system individual places of business reported very diverse results. This fact is nothing new for this particular field. Public dining services had been subsidized already in the late 1960s and early 1970s. After the 1973 price adjustment the RAJ enterprises reported profits of about Kcs 600 million in 1974. In the following years their profitability declined again, particularly in RAJ, due to the rising costs of materials and because commercial surcharges remained unchanged while the discount for beer on tap dropped from 40 percent to 31 percent.

At the same time average wages in RAJ increased by only 4.5 percent over the past 5 years; there have been no substantial changes in the technical conditions of services. In addition to the objective causes, there are some other serious reasons for low economic effectiveness, especially in the RAJ enterprises, because of their inefficient management by national committees which, as a rule, lack professionals capable of dealing with the problems of public dining.

A team from the Economic College in Prague studied the problems of management at higher levels as well as in enterprise subdivisions within the framework of the state plan for economic survey. What did it recommend? First of all, to establish territorial enterprises with regional centers for one or more districts. Another important point involves economic mechanisms of management. The degree of profitability depends mainly on profit-making; however, the employees of public dining services have essentially no personal interest in profit-making. In the interest of the customers this situation must change in the future.

Furthermore, comprehensive qualification of the managers of public dining services must also be upgraded. Thus far it has been inadequate. The RAJ enterprises are operating in very different conditions with very differentiated

economic results. Reviews have disclosed extensive potential strength, especially in labor efficiency and certain costs, for the application of principles which should already be quite self-evident in the management systems. This calls for accurate information on the capacities in each center and thus, also, for example, for restrictions of the provisions the customers bring into the facilities because that means loss of sales, revenues and profits. The next step is to utilize business hours to better advantage; to expand the line of goods; to select a suitable well-planned mechanism of management and to apply appropriate factors of subdivision khozraschet; to use central production facilities primarily for the places of business, computer technology and prudent planning.

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ECONOMY

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SWEDISH INDIVIDUALS, FIRMS REPAYED FOR WORLD WAR II LOSSES

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 25 Oct 86 p 18

[Article by Bo Westmar: "GDR to Compensate Swedes for Nationalized Property"]

[Text] East Germany will pay 70 million kronor to approximately 300 Swedish firms and individuals for property that was nationalized after World War II.

That is the substance of an agreement between Sweden and the German Democratic Republic which was signed in East Berlin on Friday.

This makes Sweden the second country, after Finland, to receive compensation for private property in the old German Reich that was later taken over by the GDR.

The claimants include two big Swedish concerns, but most are private individuals who owned property or had bank accounts, mortgages or small businesses in what used to be Germany.

The nationalized assets also include Swedish-owned plants.

Since 1973, the year after Sweden established diplomatic relations with East Germany, Sweden has been negotiating with the GDR on compensation for the Swedish property.

"It has been a very hard process," said Hans Corell, head of the Foreign Ministry's legal division and chairman of the Swedish negotiating team. One of the biggest problems was to make an accurate evaluation of the Swedish assets 40 years after the end of the war.

Another tough question was whether Sweden had a right to negotiate on behalf of Swedish firms whose foreign subsidiaries owned GDR property that was later nationalized. The two countries have different opinions on this point.

Sweden and East Germany finally agreed that the GDR should pay a lump sum, 70 million kronor, to the Swedish claimants. Hans Corell would not reveal the amount of the original claims.

The agreement was signed on Friday by Ambassador Hans Corell and Professor Stephan Supranowitz, head of the agency for the legal protection of GDR assets.

Before the agreement goes into effect it must now be approved, ratified, by the representative assemblies of the two countries. The Swedish government could send a bill to Riksdag as early as next week.

The agreement will go into effect 3 months after it is ratified. Half of the 70 million kronor will be paid out 3 months after that and the remainder will be paid half a year later.

The government will probably appoint a special distribution board to decide how much money will go to each claimant.

In a comment on the agreement Foreign Minister Sten Andersson said:

"It is with great satisfaction that I note that we were able to reach a settlement of this difficult question. The result must be regarded as satisfactory in view of the circumstances. The agreement means that one more step has been taken toward improving relations between Sweden and the German Democratic Republic."

6578

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ECONOMY

HUNGARY

NEW LEGAL PROVISIONS AFFECTING PRIVATE COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 17 Sep 86 p 3

[Article by Csaba Egerszegi: "Enterprise in Commerce--Some Alleviations, Some Restrictions"]

[Excerpt] A recent ministerial bulletin revealed that the law governing domestic commerce, and the substantive rule that pertains to private commercial activities has been modified. The rule goes into effect on October 1. The supporting arguments indicate that changes in the economy, including the introduction of the new enterprise law and of new forms of management, made the changes necessary.

This is understandable, since legal provisions must keep in step with, or at least must follow changes that occur in real life. For this reason it is significant to note that the main feature of the modification designates the role of domestic commerce in trade, and not in distribution. The significance of this statement is not so much that it is untrue. After all a merchant trades, he searches the market, causes others to produce, imports--in other words, he tries to satisfy the needs of customers. The real significance of the statement may be found in a question that necessarily arises: why precisely now, in 1986 do we have to give legal force to something that should naturally follow from principles that have been valid for almost two decades in the framework of the functioning of our economy.

Well, so they say, it is the daily activities of commerce, the difficulties and reflexes in certain areas of distribution (e.g. cars and automotive parts), and yet, in other areas it is the increased availability of choice that made the new provisions necessary.

Without Permit

It is questionable in any event, whether certain words have any significance from the viewpoint of economic policy. The wording I am referring to suggests that the law recognizes as merchants those who conduct their activities in domestic commerce. To be sure, most people active in domestic commerce have been merchants of one kind or another, moreover they considered themselves, and presently consider themselves as merchants.

The changed provisions include a valuable new feature: henceforth, wholesalers need no longer apply for permits. (On the other hand the prohibition by which private persons cannot engage themselves in wholesale activities remained unchanged.) The situation is similar with respect to the activities of agents. The spirit of the law suggests that commerce with respect to means of production has been omitted as an individual category. This too is simple "wholesaling", and not simply the supply and distribution of materials.

Another useful feature of the changed provisions is that new forms of operation and the for-profit hospitality industry now enjoy the support of law. It follows then, that all these are not merely prosperity-related elements of commercial work.

Changes in the provisions pertaining to private commercial activities bring quite different thoughts to mind. No doubt, those affected by the changes are looking forward with interest to see the implementing rules. They too become effective on October 1.

There is no change of policy with respect to private commercial activities, officials at the Ministry of Domestic Trade emphasize. In the long run, private commercial activities are guaranteed by the state. The changes to be published shortly, however, do suggest that there are changes with respect to details, and that one cannot be indifferent whether those changes are prefaced with a plus or a minus sign.

Changes in Legal Provisions

The new provisions provide ample room for private entrepreneurs in small settlements, in peripheral districts, and in residential developments. Stated differently, there is ample room for private merchants in areas which are not being adequately supplied. In places like this, private mercantile and small trade activities may be pursued simultaneously. A further alleviation may be seen in the fact that a private merchant may do business with respect to a larger number of activities. A privately owned tennis court, for instance, could previously be operated only by a business cooperative, from now on the individual entrepreneur may do what only a business cooperative was able to do before. No special permit is needed for establishing a book store, an apicultural store or a farmers market.

Upon reading the restrictive provisions, one pauses to think, however. Above all, it would be worthwhile to examine for what reason private commercial activities are being tied to professional qualifications. Heretofore, a citizen untrained in the field of his business was able to apply for a permit, providing that he would employ qualified personnel. In the future, however, only a professionally qualified person may obtain an operating licence with respect to a number of fields, such as household goods, chemicals, vehicles, parts, and technical materials.

The Ministry argues that these provisions are intended to raise the standards of private commerce. They want to eliminate dummies, who merely lend their money or their facilities but do not actually work in the store. Instead, they employ others. Another related restriction provides that if a private merchant holder of a permit does not personally participate in the work of the store, his permit will be lifted.

This is the point where one must stop to consider the meaning of the term "enterprise." Because no one says that the one who knows how to cook should not be a cook. Or, that the one who sells brake linings and other automotive parts should know nothing about automobiles, and that his knowledge should not be attested to on paper. No, because this is just obvious.

Should the Entrepreneur Be a Cook?

Business and enterprise is one thing; how to prepare a tenderloin in the English style is another. In other words, establishing a business, finding out and recognizing what kind of store would be successful in Budapest on the corner of Dob [Drum] Street as compared to Szentendre, obtaining the needed finances, making it become real, and in general, running the "shop" continually--that is the entrepreneur's function. An ingenious cook may never become an entrepreneur if he has no sense of business--business, in which one can fail both financially and morally, as that happens on an almost daily basis. Last year, for instance, some 4900 licenses ceased to exist. In all fairness, only a part of these licenses ceased as a result of bankruptcy. But one can also get rich in business, as that is demonstrated by some spectacular examples. And then there are those whose professional knowledge is coupled with a sense of business. To top it off, even the needed capital is available. But these are not the typical cases.

The mobility and flexibility of entrepreneurship is blunted if it is made rigorously dependent on professional qualifications. The efforts of an able merchant may be frustrated by the opening of a department store next to his shop, or by changes in market conditions that cause his line of business to decline. At that point he must change his line of business, or, more appropriately stated, he ought to change his line of business.

But as the saying goes: not all is gold that glitters. First of all, the legal changes leave the already acquired rights unaffected. In other words, an existing merchant who lacks the professional qualifications may continue to do business, and he will not even have to return to school. Second, and this is even more important, the new provisions permit a financier to become associated with the cook (to use our previous example) in the form of a civil business partnership. From that point on everything remains the same.

It is precisely for this reason that private activities should be regulated with circumspection, so that these private activities serve the needs of our society rather than enhance the formulation of indecent levels of profit, giving rise to political and social tensions.

Private Merchants and Their Shops

With respect to entrepreneurship, it is important to determine the clout the private sector has in domestic commerce and what role it plays. We may answer this question summarily: the private sector's role is both insignificant and significant. At present, the sales volume of private sector merchants amounts to six percent of the total sales volume of small businesses. Today there are 30,000 small [private] merchants in Hungary. Their number has doubled during the past five years.

Their share of the sales volume, however, does not appropriately reflect their role in satisfying demands. Fifty-five thousand stores in Hungary are managed either by the state or by cooperatives. Compared to this number, the number of private merchants is not at all small, even if not all of these merchants have stores (such as those who are engaged in selling by showing samples, or others engaged in truck-load sales.)

Network development by private merchants is of even greater significance. Here too it is worth citing some figures. During the sixth 5-year plan period, 770,000 square meters of mercantile and hospitality business facilities have been built by virtue of [state] enterprise or cooperative financing. Although no accurate measurements have been made, according to expert estimates private merchants have added 200-300,000 square meters of mercantile space during the same period. They have spent significant amounts on development, not to mention the fact that running these businesses also ties down capital and current assets. With respect to foreign tourism, in Hungary there are 40,000 hotel spaces, while the catering trade offers 270,000 spaces.

Considering the generally tight personnel situation in commerce, it is good to know that in the private sector, beside shop owners, 12,000 family members are reported to assist, and that the number of private sector commercial employees amounts to 7500. And it is not insignificant to note that private merchants secure a significant part of their merchandise from sources other than the central merchandise base. They seek out and create new product sources. In certain fields and professions they have become indispensable.

In these days entrepreneurship is at the lowest scale with respect to food sales, even though it is that area in which entrepreneurship would be most needed. The reason is obvious: it is this area where the ratio of the number of products subject to free pricing is the smallest [most products are subject to price controls.] It follows that an entrepreneur will invest his money where it produces the largest return. [Investing in the food sector] would be tantamount to depositing his money into the National Savings Bank or to purchasing bonds. There are 5600 small merchants engaged in food retail operations. Most of them sell fruits and vegetables. It is noteworthy that in recent decades, state and cooperative commerce in fruits and vegetables has been reorganized several times, the reason being that such ventures have always gone bankrupt. At the same time private fruit and vegetable grocers are alive, their businesses flourishing. This too proves the thesis: just as in the hospitality industry, small business cannot be economically managed by using the framework of large enterprises. The recent popularity of the contractual system suggests the same conclusion.

The Responsibility of Councils

Reverting to the changes in legal provisions: they have increased the role of councils with respect to the issuance and enforcement of permits, such as liquor licences and business hours. The law assigns an increased responsibility to merchants with respect to their employees. If an employee is found to have violated the rules three times within a two year period, the merchant's permit may be revoked.

If councils lack circumspection in weighing the merits of specific situations, some of these restrictions may potentially retard entrepreneurship. It is very important that subjective or individual motives, or other impermissible material considerations enter as part of making such determinations. This has been found to occur with respect to cases involving space management. Accordingly, the responsibility of councils is rather great with respect to decisions involving private merchant permit revocations on grounds of rule violations.

A lot has been said about enterprises, large or small, during the past several years. The debate continues in these days. Generally speaking, the term "small enterprise" applies to economic work collectives, to contractual businesses and to partnerships, while in this country, it is the small merchant who may be considered the classic representative of small enterprise.

By now perhaps it may no longer be necessary to prove that enterprising is a necessary activity. If we permit enterprising, if we consider enterprising as a necessity in the economy, in commerce, in supplying the population, we must also recognize that this activity cannot be perceived in the absence of an appropriate interest by the participants. This, however, should not mean that those who enjoy an outstanding income should not share the public burden in proportion to their income. This purpose is being served by the system of taxation.

And even though it is commonly recognized, it will not hurt to reiterate the fact that laws and legal provisions may regulate economic processes by enhancing or retarding certain phenomena. But the fundamental resolution of social and economic problems does not rest primarily in the legal domain.

12995
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ECONOMY

POLAND

INSTITUTE REPORT ON DEBT SITUATION DISCUSSED

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 39, 27 Sep 86 p 4

[Article by Jerzy Baczynski and Jacek Mojkowski: "How Steeply Uphill"]

[Text] The report on the problem of Poland's foreign debt has finally been published. It was compiled by experts from the Institute of the National Economy and the Institute for the Study of Foreign Trade Business Cycles and Trends [IKC HZ]. They were directed by Prof Jozef Soldaczuk and the group was composed of professors Marian Ostrowski, Stanislaw Polaczek and Stanislaw Raczkowski and docents Aleksander Czepurko, Jerzy Jedruszek and Juliusz Kotynski.

The report describes the state of Poland's debt and the reasons for its growth. It also point to conditions for a way out of the financial crisis. A discussion of the report follows.

The level of our debt is very high, considered in relation to the level of national income as well as in relation to exports. Debt servicing, the payment of principal and interest, will encumber the country's development and limit the possibilities for satisfying society's consumer needs for a long time.

Tightening the Noose

The fundamental financial problem that we face is payment of our obligations to Western creditors. At the end of March 1986, Polish debt was calculated at \$31.3 billion. It is apparent from this fact that statistically every Pole should repay \$836. A year ago the dollar debt made up 40 percent of our national income. If we wanted to take care of our obligations quickly, for 5 consecutive years we would have to give back to the capitalist countries everything we earn on exports, while importing nothing.

There are false impressions in the popular opinion that especially in the 1970s Poland lived exclusively on credit, unconcerned about repaying borrowed money. Without defending the economic policy of that period, the truth is somewhat different: In the years 1971-81 we paid creditors about \$32 billion. We ask you to look at the data in the table:

Billions of dollars	1971-81	1982-85	Total
Long- and medium-term debt	44.4	2.5	46.9
Principal payments	21.8	1.3	23.1
Interest payments	10.2	6.5	16.7
Total payments	32.0	7.8	39.8

One-third of the credit was allocated for investment imports, one-third for the purchase of raw materials and components for manufacturing and one-third for imports of grain, feeds and consumer goods.

In the years 1981-85 Poland incurred almost no credits, but despite this the debt increased by about \$5.2 billion. This was due in part to the fact that in 1981 we received \$2 billion in credit for buying grain and raw materials and for debt servicing. But in the period 1982-85 the main reason for the increase in debt was the growth of unpaid interest payments, which Western creditors added to the debt. The mechanism of compound interest emerged--additional interest was charged on unpaid interest.

Change in the dollar exchange rate on foreign currency markets also affected the level of debt. From 1981 to March 1985 the dollar's exchange rate rose and our debt in foreign currencies other than the dollar decreased proportionally. (i.e., the debt of 1 billion West German marks equalled \$510 million in 1981, but at the beginning of 1985, just \$320 million.

In 1985 the dollar fell by 20 percent, which caused an automatic increase in our debt. One must remember that half of our debt was incurred in US dollars, while the rest was mainly in West German marks (17-19 percent) and Swiss francs (12-13 percent).

Generally speaking, if in the 1970s the main reason for the growth of the debt was incurred credit, then in 1980s the reason for the sudden growth was the increase of interest rates in the West, the fall of the dollar and the mechanism of compound interest.

To sum up our debt in the East and West in 1984, Poland (with \$30 billion) was in sixth place in a group of 25 countries whose debt surpassed \$10 billion. At the top of the list were Brazil (\$115 billion) and Mexico (\$95 billion) with China (\$12.4 billion) and Columbia (\$11.9 billion) at the bottom. European socialist countries on the list included Yugoslavia (\$20.4 billion) and East Germany (\$11.3) with Hungary (\$8 billion) coming close.

From a comparison of global debt levels, it is apparent that Poland is among the major debtors of the world. Our situation is somewhat better when we calculate how much of the debt falls to each citizen (under this comparison we are in 14th or 15th place) in relation to national income.

For the experts, though, the comparison of debt to the level of exports of a given country is most important, since exports determine its capacity for repaying its obligations. In 1983 our "dollar" debt was 44 times higher than

our foreign exchange exports, which put us in sixth place, after Egypt, Morocco, Argentina, Brazil and Mexico, on the list of "most heavily encumbered" debtors.

How We Got into the Trap

After the events of December 1970, the new team decided on rapid development for the country based on readily accessible foreign credit. The favorable political atmosphere in East-West relations favored this. Trade regulations were liberalized at that time and the governments of capitalist countries granted broad credit guarantees.

In addition, Poland took advantage of the privileges offered by its belonging to GATT (access to Western technology and markets and most favored nation status, etc.). We were also able to participate in a special US Government program for buying American grain, feeds and agricultural material on credit.

Among the reasons for which the country's leadership of the time decided on "development on credit" was the demographic explosion which at the beginning of the 1970s began to enter its productive period. It was necessary to create about 3 million new jobs during that decade. This required a significant investment effort and it was decided to finance development with foreign loans so as not to lower the country's standard of living.

However, the policy of accelerated growth did not produce anticipated results since proper growth proportions and discipline in executing investments were not observed. Imports increased rapidly while total production and exports to Western countries did not keep pace.

The program anticipated the execution of several hundred investments, which were financed with foreign credits. They were to be repaid on the basis of "paying for itself," e.g., after a given plant was opened, it should produce export goods in quantities sufficient to make payment on credits plus interest. In practice this was not the case. The construction of new plants was prolonged and later many goods were unable to find buyers on foreign markets. The economic recession in the West and the poor quality of the goods we offered had an effect on this. Under those circumstances the government exempted a good number of the investments from the obligation of paying for themselves and thereby violated the fundamental condition for maintaining a relative balance of payments.

Another mistake was the elaboration of a growth plan without drawing up a long-term, aggregate economic computation setting out the permissible limits of capital expenditures and imports. There were also no long-term plans for export development. The discipline of the central plan was generally violated by the introduction of the ill-conceived principle of the "open plan," which permitted initiation of new investments without investigating whether adequate funds and imports were anticipated. Usually any additional needs were handled through foreign loans. In the decade 1971-80 the difference between projected and actual foreign currency receipts was \$10 billion (exports were too low by \$4 billion and imports too high by \$6 billion).

Despite this effort by the Polish economy, our situation as a debtor has worsened. Creditor governments have added unpaid interest to the principal, which has increased our debt by about \$5 billion, without equivalent imports. Now we must again pay interest on this "capitalized" interest and so on. At the same time our debt increased as a result of the enormous growth of interest rates on the international money market, created by US economic policy. If not for high interest rates, the surplus we have achieved in foreign trade should, as a rule, be adequate for regular payment of interest.

Consumer imports affected the sharpening of the balance of payments deficit, especially in the second half of the 1970s when a series of crop failures led to the purchase of a significant amount of grain and feeds on the American market.

Excessive incurring of debts and lack of success in exports were associated with the economy's growing dependence on credited imports. For example, in 1981, 60 percent of all imports were financed with credit.

It is commonly believed that a "safe" threshold for country's debt is when the annual total of principal and interest payments does not exceed 25 percent of receipts from exports. In 1975 that level was already 27 percent; in 1978, 61 percent and in 1980, 81 percent. Under these circumstances, in order to settle payment obligations and still have foreign currency for crucial imports, it was necessary to obtain ever greater and ever more expensive credit.

At the start of the 1980s, consolidation of payments for credit incurred in the previous decade and short term credit taken shortly before occurred. From 1981 to 1983, 72 percent of the entire debt, or more than \$18 billion, was to be repaid, including \$8.7 billion in 1981. These obligations greatly surpassed receipts from exports and they were finally repaid by incurring new loans.

Negotiations with Creditors

At the end of March 1981, the Polish payments situation was already drastic. The Trade Bank was forced to suspend principal and interest payments on foreign credit. In order to maintain Poland's credibility as a debtor, it was necessary to enter into discussions with creditors and mutually establish a means for solving the payment problem. The negotiations included two categories of debt--credit granted or guaranteed by government and commercial bank credit.

In the matter of government or guaranteed credit, whose total at that time was about \$1 billion, discussions were conducted under the auspices of the so-called Paris Club, which gathered representatives of the governments of 15 creditor countries. The first agreement with the Paris Club, reached in April 1981, resolved only the immediate problem of debt payments due from May to December 1981, about \$2 billion. The creditors agreed to our beginning to make payments in 1986.

Further negotiations with club members were interrupted by the introduction of martial law in Poland. The governments of many Western countries imposed economic sanctions on the PRL, to which our government responded with suspension of all payments on the debt due to the "15." Economic and trade restrictions and a virtual blockade made it difficult for Poland to meet its financial obligations to foreign creditors. In other words, in hurting the debtor, the creditors also hurt themselves.

Discussions with the Paris Club were resumed in 1984. After lengthy negotiations, an agreement settling outstanding payments for the years 1982-84 was signed in July 1985. Including interest they totaled almost \$11 billion. Payment of this amount was deferred over 10 years with a 5 year maturity. On a similar basis we later obtained deferral of payment of \$1.6 billion from 1985 and \$2.4 billion impossible to repay in 1986 (the third and fourth agreements with the club, now including 17 participants. In the opinion of the Polish side, club members often took an unrealistic position during the negotiations, expressed in attempts to link financial issues with political ones.

As a result of agreements with the club, we are now formally in order in relation to creditor governments. Yet the total of our obligations has grown from \$1 billion to \$16 billion (\$14.2 billion of which we are to pay in the years 1990-96) and is still growing. For postponement of payment is not a gratuitous gesture--interest is to be paid up to date. If we could afford it, we should pay about \$1.4 billion annually in interest on the deferred debt alone, together with payments postponed previously, about \$3 billion annually in the years 1986-89. Then there is still the debt to the commercial banks.

There are about 500 trade banks from which we have borrowed money. To conduct simultaneous negotiations with such a mass of creditors would take at least a theater auditorium. The banks were therefore divided into 15 national groups who appointed a coordinating committee under the leadership of the Dresden Bank of Luxembourg. The point of departure was \$7.7 billion. Even martial law did not interrupt discussions with the commercial banks. As a result of four rounds of negotiations, the total amount of deferred principal payments was established at \$6.8 billion; payments were to start in 1988 and we committed ourselves to paying the interest up to date. It is worth emphasizing that this interest actually was paid, thanks to revolving credit (\$744 million in the 1982-85 period) allocated by the banks to pay a major part of the interest due them. This ostensibly odd practice is applied rather frequently to sustain the debtor's official solvency.

The debt to the governments of Western creditor nations and commercial banks makes up almost 90 percent of Poland's debt in convertible currency. In addition to this there are "dollar" debts with the International Investment Bank, the International Bank for Economic Cooperation and the USSR, a total of \$2.3 billion, as well as amounts due certain Arab countries and commercial creditors. They are all the subject of separate negotiations. As far as our ruble, mainly to the USSR (5.6 billion convertible rubles in 1985), is concerned, payment is to start in 1988.

How did negotiations with creditors affect Poland's economic situation?

First, we salvaged our financial credibility (as least in the legal sense); second, we averted a declaration of Poland's bankruptcy by our creditors, which could have resulted in seizure of our exports receipts and our property abroad. Third and finally, we obtained access to future foreign credit albeit grossly inadequate. In 1981 for the last time the influx of capital to Poland was greater than the outflow. Thereafter, debt payments exceeded the level of newly granted credit. In 4 years (1982-85) Poland used \$3.5 billion of credit and paid its creditors \$6.5 billion in interest and \$2.6 billion in principal. The balance is therefore negative by \$5.5 billion. Since 1983 Poland has secured a surplus of exports over imports of \$1 billion to \$1.4 billion annually.

What Next?

Several months ago Poland was accepted into the International Monetary Fund and World Bank. This will improve our financial credibility somewhat and will create an opportunity to obtain certain new credits, but under the condition of hard rules of economic policy. Therefore, negotiations are negotiations, but it is necessary to look for means of getting out of the noose of debt in our own backyard.

We know that the payment of debts our distributable national income. So in order to pay our debts, not limit consumption and satisfy at least our most urgent investment needs, our national income must grow by about 3.5 percent annually in the years 1986-90. That is the absolute minimum. Foreign currency exports should grow even faster (4.5 percent annually).

The IKC HZ has developed two scenarios for potential growth--favorable and unfavorable. The favorable scenario assumes a growth of national income of 4 percent a years, a physical level of exports of 5.6 percent and achievement of a considerable surplus of service profits. Given these assumptions, our debt would reach its maximum level (about \$34 billion) in 1990 and be subject to liquidation by the year 2000. But let us remember that this would require an increase in exports from about \$6 billion now to \$15.5 billion in the years 1986-95, which seems rather unlikely, especially since we have no means of further increasing exports of raw materials.

The unfavorable scenario (3 percent growth in national income annually and a 4 percent increase in exports) excessively prolongs prospects for controlling the debt. Our debt, in this scenario, would increase to \$40 billion in 1990, \$55.7 billion in the year 2000 and \$65 billion in 2008 and only thereafter would it begin to decrease. On this background this year's foreign trade results look exceptionally grim. After 7 months, foreign currency exports are 5 percent lower than one year ago. Nevertheless, the authors of these scenarios prove that the "gamble for the future" will be decided by the current 5 year period, when the greatest burdens associated with stabilization of the foreign debt will fall on the economy.

So what must be done in order to approximate the favorable scenario?

The general recommendations contained in the report can be viewed practically as banal. Let us mention some: Exports should grow faster than industrial production and national income; the structure of exports must change in favor of manufactured goods; businesses should be made aware of the economic pressure for exports; it is necessary to decrease material- and energy-intensive manufacturing, increase its quality, etc.

We know what we should do. But the question, worth several billion dollars, is how?

The report contains several suggestions, which concur with the rather universal opinions of our economists. First of all, it is necessary to "put in order" the framework of domestic supply prices, making them conform to world prices (through the mechanism of so-called transactional prices). In this way business could carry on proper accounting of the effectiveness of exports and make proper economic decisions.

It is necessary to depart from subsidized low prices for imported materials. In other words, it is necessary to start with a movement of supplier price increases and further devaluation of the zloty (this is called "active money rate policy"). On one hand this would accelerate the desired process of economic restructurization and on the other hand would increase the appeal of exports in comparison to sales on the domestic market.

We should also change the bases for applying calculations of foreign currency deductions to business. The point is for imports of producer goods as well as investment to be financed--to a great degree--from their own foreign currency funds. There is still one stipulation--the situation wherein payments from retained hard currency earnings allowances are blocked by the Trade Bank cannot be repeated. It is also necessary, in the policy toward producers, to strive to eliminate all relief, except for exports.

Meanwhile, on a macro scale, encompassing the entire economy, it would be necessary to direct the flow of investment monies first of all to those branches of manufacturing and those plants that can offer profitable exports. This also concerns exports of services (transit, tourism, construction), requiring creation of an appropriate material base. We must also counteract inflation on the domestic market and strive to ensure market balance because uncontrolled internal demand provides businesses an excellent opportunity to achieve high profits without making an effort to produce exports. Finally, it is necessary to depart from state control and distribution of raw materials for this perpetuates an outmoded manufacturing structure and inhibits new export initiatives. Some raw materials, up to now completely regulated, should be sold normally at balance prices.

Growth of hard currency transfers, through facilitating acceptance of work abroad by our specialists, creating a favorable social and financial climate for foreign firms operating in Poland, etc., can also improve our balance of payments.

To summarize, resolution of the debt problem requires an increase in the general economic growth rate, especially in exports, changes in the structure of manufacturing, improvement in product quality and limitation of energy and materials consumption. The development of cooperation with Warsaw Pact nations and the USSR will have much significance for our economic prospects and therefore our ability to repay our obligations.

At the same time we must continue discussions with Western creditors, not only to postpone payments but also to increase direct participation by the partners in solving the growth problems of the Polish economy.

The patient--to use medical terminology--has a fairly strong constitution (rich reserves of fuel and raw materials, qualified personnel, considerable manufacturing potential). Still needed are removal of developmental defects, a transfusion of foreign currency and general stimulation. Some are counting on the electric shock applied by the International Monetary Fund while others are considering various combinations of the carrot and stick. The hump of indebtedness weighs heavily but economic stagnation only means increasing that weight. It is not important anymore who put it on us; we must take it off ourselves.

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ECONOMY

POLAND

QUESTIONS CONCERNING JOB CERTIFICATION PROCESS ARISE

Experts, Enterprise Managers Convene

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 2 Oct 86 p 5

["Theoreticians and Practitioners Discuss Job Certification"--PAP report]

[Text] (C) On 1 [October] was held in Warsaw a national scientific conference on job reviews, job certification, and principles of the valuation of labor. During the 2-day discussions the rationales and arguments of scientists collided with the skepticism and realistic approach of enterprise managers. The conference was organized, upon the initiative of the Warsaw Branch of the Scientific Society for Organization of Management, by the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Services and the Institute of Labor and Social Services. In view of the tremendous interest at enterprises, it was resolved to organize in the very near future at least five additional sessions of the conference, of course with other participants.

The plenary discussion of reports prepared by eminent experts on the subject, as well as the detailed exchange of views at specific sections of the conference, enabled enterprise representatives to familiarize themselves with the theoretical principles of job reviews and job certification as well as with the principles of the method for the valuation of labor known by the acronym UMEWAP-85, which the central authorities are proposing to enterprises as a standard approach so as to make it possible to commence the ordering of wage proportions on the scale of the economy as a whole. Possibilities for the practical application of these principles and gradual implementation of recommendations and reviews were discussed. This exchange of views also served to familiarize academe with the problems requiring greater elaboration. For example, the question of principles of the job certification of non-bluecollar workers was deemed to be urgent.

Job reviews and job certification are innovations not confined to Poland. Its neighbor countries have long been employing these techniques and attaining tangible results in the form of, inter alia, streamlining of organizational structures, reductions in the number of plant departments and hence also of managerial positions, uncovering of latent manpower resources, a more sensible division of labor, and, above all, increasing labor productivity and hence also earnings and accelerating technological progress. In Polish conditions

this method should produce even greater effects, if only in view of the low level of organization of labor at our enterprises. It was emphasized though that principles of job certification practiced in other countries cannot be mechanically applied to our Polish model of guided economy, and especially to enterprise autonomy, which is greater in this country than in the neighbor countries.

The discussion served to dispel numerous misconceptions entertained about this method at enterprises; among other things, it made it clear that employees need not be apprehensive about job certification, because it is their workstations rather than their jobs that are going to be certified. Even so, some ambiguities could not be resolved in the discussion. The skepticism of plant managers derives from their bad experience with various previous drives as well as from the present operating conditions of enterprises in a situation in which little depends on themselves. Mention was made of, *inter alia*, supply problems, disrupted coproduction ties, the incentive-suppressing effect of inflation, and, above all, the absence of precise and consistently applied rules of the economic game that would prompt organizational progress. It is precisely on this, on the mutual support of the economic reform and organizational streamlining at enterprises and within the state as a whole, that the success of this great undertaking hinges. The sincere 2-day exchange of views enabled at the same time at least part of the participants to leave Warsaw feeling that this time it matters to both the "centrum" [the central authorities] and the enterprises that job reviews and job certification be not just another temporary drive but a constant and longterm program of action, although, as one discussant observed, it is still difficult to resist the impression that this might be yet another one-shot drive.

Problems Foreseen in Construction Industry

Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish No 40, 5 Oct 86 p 3

[Article by Zbigniew Bienkowski, SZKOLBUD Higher-Education Construction Operations Enterprise, Warsaw: ""What Are We Going to Review?""]

[Text] When I link job reviews and job certification to the particular operating conditions of my plant, which is a construction enterprise that chiefly handles building renovations, I do not feel very hopeful that the present poor situation in the construction industry will improve.

Streamlining operations requires, above all, thorough familiarity with the actual situation and a well-defined view on what is needed to improve it. So far, no one in the construction industry has defined the meaning of "stanowisko pracy" [Translator's note: meaning in this case both 'workstation' and 'job'], so that, to compound the problem, we hardly know what we are supposed to certify and review. The number of workers needed in various occupations, and hence also the number of workstations, is always -- or even daily -- fluid. Moreover, our enterprise never knows in advance just what operations it is to carry out, because, generally speaking, particularly whenever building renovations are concerned, the need for certain chores makes itself known only after work is undertaken. In addition, material shortages are a major factor. And even if the enterprise sets up an operations schedule

specifying particular tasks in accordance with a precise plan for production, its implementation would be impossible in view of the present manpower situation, and even more so in view of social considerations which prevent matching the employment structure to the constantly changing needs of production (any other action is not feasible).

Thus, in principle, the only kind of employees amenable to job reviews and job certification are whitecollar employees. The differences in views on the needed number of such employees may be demonstrated by the present structure of the employment of whitecollar workers at construction enterprises, which varies from 14 to more than 30 percent of their total employment depending on the enterprise. I personally think that priority should be given to verifying the number of administrative duties imposed on the enterprises, so as to detect and eliminate many superfluous operations, whereupon the correct proportion of whitecollar employees should be determined depending on the nature of activity and size of the enterprise, and only then can job reviews be undertaken, upon relating the existing situation to a specific norm.

It would really be best if enterprises were provided with an authentic instrument of economic compulsion to streamline their employment. So long as they lack genuine interest in a good organization of labor (which at present is simply undesirable, because it hinders the existence of that latent utilizable potential which, in a command economy — this being the kind of economy that still obstinately persists — is the basis for the survival of the enterprise), no measure taken, however valid it may be in theory, can produce tangible effects.

Job certification will not either improve the labor norms except perhaps on paper, because in construction industry wages are paid not according to mandatory norms but depending on the wage-payment possibilities of an enterprise, which are unrelated to the quantity of labor actually performed, that is, which differ depending on the individual company.

The traditional tax system is based on the proportions between the wage fund and production that happened to exist at the time when the PFAZ [Plant Activation Fund] was first introduced. But these proportions were fortuitous, particularly as regards piecework-bonus pay. This is demonstrated by the marked differences in the share of emoluments in net output at different enterprises. The maximum amount of emoluments that can be paid by an enterprise, as determined by the tax system, does not correspond to the total pay to which individual workers are entitled by their labor according to the time norms of labor intensiveness and the wage category. At the time of introduction of the economic reform, enterprises with high productivity had to reduce their wage category rates below the mandatory norms, while the less productive enterprises were enabled to overpay their employees.

I assume that, in view of the lack of preparations for this drive, costly as it is anyway, job certification and job reviews in the construction industry will reduce to recording a large number of unstaffed workstations and shortages of even basic tools and equipment.

One more thing. I propose that job certification and job reviews be extended to Polonia and private companies. I am very curious to know the results.

Case Study in Poznan

Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish No 41, 12 Oct 86 pp 1,6

[Article by Krzysztof Fronczak: "Therapy or Medicine" subtitled "Job Certification at the Poznan ZNTK [Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Shops]"]

[Text] En route to the Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Shops in Poznan (ZNTK), one of the three enterprises under the Ministry of Transportation selected as so-called pilot enterprises for testing the conduct and results of job certification I recalled opinions about a similar "guinea pig" in Warsaw. It also was designated a pilot enterprise, except that it is under another ministry.

At the time, the question was raised publicly, in the presence of invited journalists, whether job certification is really necessary. Because, if it is assumed that an enterprise performs properly, its management copes with its tasks, its administrative department and engineer personnel work efficiently, and its experts on safety and hygiene of labor know what they are doing, then ultimately it already is accomplishing consistently and daily the purposes of job certification. For, given this assumption, there is no room at that enterprise for unneeded workstations, economic mechanisms prompt a rise in labor productivity, technologists attend to advances in production technology, experts in safety and hygiene of labor attend to improving working conditions, and so on. In view of this, is job certification still needed at all?

It is interesting that this is how one reporter viewed the matter. His reasoning does not lack a certain validity, but the employees themselves of that enterprise view the matter much more cautiously. It is hardly likely that their diffidently optimistic belief in the worth of job certification was due to the presence of a representative of the parent ministry at that press conference and to the desire to adhere in public to some just policy laid down from the "top." As it turned out later, already on the spot in Poznan, the reason why they place certain hopes in job certification -- despite all that had happened in the economic history of the more than 40 years of existence of postwar Poland, beginning with the drive for a reduction in force, which is far from new -- is attributable to the experience gained by the management which prompts it to exploit every opportunity to streamline its activities. And such opportunities indeed are afforded by job certification, no matter how the effects of similar drives undertaken in past years are viewed. The point is that the matter be tackled rationally, without assuming that this is just another temporary drive which too will pass and which will have to be trumpeted for the sake of one's peace of mind and to satisfy the statisticians.

Without Haste

Engineer Czeslaw Jasinski, deputy director for technology and job certification chief at the Poznan ZNTK, had already at the outset of our

conversation resolutely rejected the view that this is simply another temporary drive. Only people who totally misunderstand the point can think otherwise. He also chided those enterprise managers who proclaim smugly through the mass media the successful completion of job certification in their enterprises, the great advantages it has yielded, the benefits to the workforce, etc. In his opinion, this shows -- and it is difficult not to agree with him -- utter misunderstanding of the purpose of job certification and lack of honesty toward both the public and one's subordinates. He said that it is precisely these people that characterized job certification as a drive and carried it out unceremoniously like one, thus paying lip service to the idea.

At the ZNTK the operation was undertaken with deliberation, following a solid preparation. For the time being, the plant has not attained any great and spectacular effects, because this is not how the job certification of seven out of more than 500 workstations at the plant can be viewed. The approach selected may not be spectacular, but it affords a chance for producing tangible effects. Those seven workstations represented the proving ground as it were. They employ 81 persons, mostly on the basis of the brigade system, and they had been reviewed as far back as last July. The experience gained will enable the nine department commissions which will carry out the job certification of all the 500 workstations to avoid the mistakes that can always be initially expected.

The onus of job certification will rest precisely on these department commissions. Each of them consists of: the department chief, a representative of the office of the chief technologist, a representative of the section for the organization of labor, and an expert on safety and hygiene of labor. The commission is headed by the department chief. Were somebody else to be placed above him -- I was told at the ZNTK -- he would interpret it as an imposition of tasks from the top and then, in the natural course of events, he would invest considerable effort in demonstrating that not much can be changed in the existing situation. Because, after all, who else but the department chiefs has accomplished so much to run the departments properly? So they would surely offer thousands of reasons why changes are impossible and inexpedient. But if the department chiefs are given a free hand, they are made to feel that, in proposing changes in workstations they are doing this for themselves and in the interest of their own people.

Of the seven workstations reviewed by the commission, three were certified and four earned a number of points qualifying them for the category of workstations that need to be streamlined rather than eliminated. But it is the experience thus gained that is more important than whatever points were earned by these seven workstations. For this first review yielded more than 50 diverse recommendations and postulates. It revealed the existence of dilemmas such as the question of what to do about the proposal of the operators of a gearing machine that it be replaced with its more modern counterpart that performs more productively and results in better working conditions. For while such a proposal is generally justified, and was recorded as such, the problem is that the enterprise cannot afford to implement it.

Discussion of the problem of increasing labor productivity and improving working conditions at that workstation had to be based on the realities of the

present: what can be improved in the machine on hand, and how should the conveyance of materials and parts be programmed to accomplish this purpose? When collecting opinions from workstation operators it should be borne in mind that each employee is most familiar with his own duties and that this personal angle dominates for obvious reasons the way he views things. The point is to correlate this properly with the limited possibilities for implementing reasonable but as yet unfeasible proposals of this kind.

Before the Commissions Start Their Work

Director Jasinski also drew attention to a rather dangerous aspect of job certification, namely, the tendency to interpret the certification of a workstation as being the more thorough the greater the number of recommendations made during its review.

It is conceivable that some eight or 10 recommendations will be made concerning each of the 500 workstations to be reviewed. How will this flood of important and less important information be handled subsequently? It would be better already in the outset to perform a selection so as to prevent the truly important issues from becoming inundated by less important ones. This is where another ambiguity arises. For example, machine operators complain about the scarcity of "BHP" paste for washing hands. They are right in claiming that this is a vexatious problem. The productivity and quality of their labor also depend on this to some extent. But is job certification needed to verify this fact? The existence of this shortage is known from routine reports. BHP paste is simply one of the commodities that periodically are absent from the supply market. Hence, this issue was omitted in recommendations on job certification.

At the Poznan ZNTK I was told that the commissions do most of their work even before they begin to inspect individual workstations. First, they have to familiarize themselves with the whole of source materials on each workstation, on bearing in mind the intentions and development policies of the plant for the next few years and even until the end of this century. This comprises the plans for development, renovation, and output at discrete departments, the employment plan, forms of remuneration, so-called certification of machinery and stations (what is being done on what machines, what technologies are used, etc.), station supply systems, circulation of information and documents (including anticipated changes such as computerization), scope of duties and responsibility at discrete stations, etc.

In Poznan the principle was adopted that every workstation must be properly prepared in advance for certification. If for example a workstation uses a particular technology to manufacture piston rings for locomotive diesel engines, it should be equipped with efficient machine tools and the necessary instruments. If it is equipped with a fan, the fan should be operational. Afterward, the certifying team can determine whether the fan is of adequate power and whether the illumination is adequate. But it cannot note in its recommendations -- because this is not its role -- that damaged equipment has to be repaired or electric bulbs have to be replaced, for that is the duty of the appropriate maintenance services. This view is supported by Deputy Chief of the Heavy Diesel Locomotive Repair Department Henryk Rolnik and the Deputy Chief of Production Engineer Donat Postaremczak. I was told that bringing

workstations into order is not within the scope of interests of the commissions, since that is simply a regular service task.

The importance of the awareness of future repair and output tasks of the enterprise to the success of job certification was demonstrated to me by quoting to me various instances. It is expected that the number of major overhauls of SP-45 and SU-46 diesel locomotives will increase. In view of this, it will be necessary to increase labor productivity at certain workstations, such as those making heating boilers for this type of rolling stock. Even without job certification, it can be seen that workstations should be reorganized so that subassemblies can be repaired not only for the department in question but also for other departments. The certification is to provide the answer to the question of how to do it.

Contrary to its name, the ZNTK in Poznan not only repairs railroad rolling stock but also, of necessity, produces many spare parts for it. For example, it manufactures piston rings for diesel locomotive engines and supplies them to not only the subsector but to the railroads as a whole. These rings require extremely precise machining. And this clearly requires suitable machinery. The enterprise faced the choice of either spending costly foreign exchange on a high-capacity machine tool which could be used for at most 3 months each year or acquiring two domestically built machine tools of much lower but sufficient capacity. The latter solution was chosen. This is, so to speak, a classical example of a certification exercise: an increase in productivity, but up to what limits and at what cost?

To Obviate the Peril of Decline

And here finally we arrive at the fundamental question asked at the outset of this article: why is the certification necessary? The simple, though not exhaustive, answer is: for the purpose of identifying ways of increasing the productivity and improving the quality of labor as well as improving working conditions. At the ZNTK I encountered the opinion that something of the kind has already been happening there continuously over the years, and not only with respect to production processes at that. Years ago the post of the director for supplies was eliminated. His duties were taken over by the director for production. The elimination of that department streamlined the circulation of information and ultimately contributed to an improved system of supplies for the departments (of course, within the limitations imposed by the chronic overall supply shortages).

Nevertheless, the continuing belief at the Poznan ZNTK is that, however good the situation is, it can always stand further improvement. The specific nature of this enterprise and the frequent changes in the types of locomotives repaired necessitate a constant adaptation of its organizational structures to the varying demands imposed by its client, the PKP [Polish State Railroads]. Yet breaking a habit is notoriously difficult, especially when this concerns personal arrangements, which tend to fossilize within old tried and tested frameworks. This also is a reason why the certification is needed, I was told at the ZNTK, since it provides the justification, motives, and arguments for introducing such changes. This concerns the enterprise itself, but (as is admitted frankly at the ZNTK), this also should be extended higher up to its

parent agency. On the other hand, certification is not needed in order to establish the necessity of transferring fire control equipment from one end of a factory hall to another or of repairing a leaky roof.

Viewing certification as a panacea for many ills at enterprises such as the ZNTK would demonstrate a naive approach to the matter. For certification cannot change everything. Moreover, the relations between acceptable models and norms for the state of equipment and technology and the conditions for achieving them should be very cautiously considered so that the price of their implementation would not be too high and economically unjustifiable.

Lastly, as also was pointed out to me at the ZNTK, there is the danger of a formalist review, a review reduced precisely to the dimensions of a temporary drive, to which disappointment in the effects may be a major contributing factor. For such disappointment is natural given the basic and common problem of the shortages of raw and other materials encountered by our entire industry. For how can an increase in labor productivity and quality be demanded, and how can the performance of production tasks be critically evaluated, in the presence of continual disruptions in supplies? Let me repeat the truism I had heard in Poznan too: unless supplies are assured and coproduction streamlined, there simply can be no mention of efficient organization. In a situation in which a department chief personally distributes to employees blades for metal saws as well as drill bits — he allots these "precious jewels" piece by piece ---on expecting worn blades and bits to be returned to him, how can he be expected to keep his mind open to questions of a more general, strategic nature?

Even a workstation that is optimally equipped in accordance with every rule of certification is ineffective if some stupid piston washer breaks down.

At the Poznan ZNTK the approach to what others attempt to downgrade with the rather denigrating expression 'the drive [for certification],' appears to be quite calm and without any unhealthy emotions. As can be seen, the preparations are being carried out on a fitting scale. Unfortunately, many unknowns lie outside the enterprise's control. Time will show the extent to which they will affect the results of the certification.

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ECONOMY

ROMANIA

NEED TO COMPLETE ENERGY UNITS ON SCHEDULE

Bucharest REVISTA ECONOMICA in Romanian No 35, 29 Aug 86 pp 10, 12

[Article by Corneliu Barnea: "The Mobilization of All Resources To Fulfill and Overfulfill the Plan Under the Conditions of Utilizing the Production Factors With Maximum Efficiency: Power Facilities Put Into Operation on Schedule"]

[Text] The matter of putting into operation on schedule the investment facilities slated for this year represents an essential concern for each construction-assembly organization as well as for all the personnel involved, to a greater or lesser degree, in this process. In power engineering, this means, concretely, more kilowatts of electric power flowing through the national system, the steady supplying of all consumers, especially the industrial ones, at the stipulated levels, and the providing of the conditions needed for fully utilizing the energy potential that our country possesses. In this context, special tasks also devolve upon the Bucharest "Electromontaj" General Contracting Trust, whose activity consists of achieving high-power electrical lines and stations throughout the country and similar work abroad, through the "Romelectro" foreign trade enterprise of the MEE [Ministry of Electric Power].

The experience accumulated by the trust's power-engineering builders and the concern for organizing and carrying out better the production processes proper made it possible to put into operation in the early months 680 of the over 1,400 important facilities planned for 1986 under the conditions in which the main plan indicators were significantly overfulfilled. Thus, at the level of the trust, in construction-assembly activity the finished production was fulfilled to a degree of 101.9 percent and the gross output to a degree of 102.1 percent. In secondary industrial activity, the same indicators each had overfulfillments of 77.3 percent, while investments proper were fulfilled to a degree of 104.5 percent. It should be noted that, out of the total of five enterprises in the trust, only the one in Sibiu had a level of fulfillment below the planned one, with the rest (Bucharest, Bacau, Cimpina, and Cluj) obtaining big physical and value overfulfillments for the main indicators.

This shows--as followed from the analysis made--that in the trust as a whole there is a unitary, scientifically substantiated, long-term outlook regarding the organization of production and labor, the more efficient use of the technical-material base proper and of labor resources, the utilization of all

economic and financial factors that favor bigger rises in productivity, etc. The concrete materialization of this style of work, in the spirit of the principles of economic and financial self-management and self-leadership, is reflected in the higher level of economic efficiency achieved both with respect to the plan and with respect to the same period of last year. In this regard, it should be mentioned that, in the period analyzed, a balance between expenses and income was secured, a fact reflected in the obtaining of a profit of 7.6 million lei beyond the plan. At the same time, the statistical data also indicate a drop in uneconomical expenditures in comparison with the same period of last year, a fact that attests to a steadier mobilization of the staffs of working people in all the enterprises of the trust to strengthen production discipline at each workplace and to apply and follow consistently the economic standards and laws.

Beyond question, the careful analysis of each particular enterprise's economic activity also indicates big reserves not yet utilized or only partly utilized that can help greatly to speed up the rate of construction on the sites, to reduce the time of doing the work, and to raise economic efficiency to a greater extent. We have in mind the failure to fully utilize the materials in the existing stocks, the taking of unjustifiably long periods of time to perform the various phases at the facilities under construction, the lack of regularity in supplying the sites and, within them, even the workplaces, etc. At the same time, the positive experience accumulated in certain fields must be generalized more promptly at the level of the whole trust. In this category of subjects it is possible to mention the results obtained in achieving some investment facilities of great importance to the national economy. Thus, in achieving the 750-kilovolt overhead powerline between our country and the USSR, some new, modern technologies were utilized (in erecting the pole on the Romanian bank of the Danube, built from sections of pipe, and in mounting the conductors, with pulling and braking installations being used so that over the entire route they did not touch the ground, with the quality of their surface being kept intact), securing, along with a big rise in productivity, the reduction of the times for carrying out the various phases of work and the growth of the quality of the execution and of the functional reliability. Moreover, all these qualitatively new elements introduced into the production process are the result of the many concerns of the staff of working people within the trust for improving the organization and modernizing the work of execution, an action that has fully demonstrated its effectiveness thus far.

The recent discussions in the general assemblies at the level of the enterprises and the trust also brought out the directions of action for the immediate and future period that would lead, ultimately, to the complete fulfillment of the plan provisions for this year under conditions of high economic efficiency. In this regard, the working people's councils in the enterprises established concrete measures, with precise dates and responsibilities, of which we should mention those referring to:

The concentration of the efforts and the attainment of, in particular, the priority objectives slated for this year (especially the investment projects of the MEE). As followed from the discussions conducted with the trust's specialists, in the next period priority will be given to the work related to the

reliability of the national energy system, to the work on transformer stations and lines for connecting the power-generating sets to the system, to the work of capital repairs on lines and stations, to the achievement of big power feeders of 400-750 kilovolts, etc.

The steady growth of labor productivity on all types of work and in each enterprise. Concretely, in order to raise the labor productivity in making the foundations for overhead powerlines, an operation that has the main percentage in the value of the total manual labor, the concerns of the specialists go in two directions, namely: a) the achievement of borers that provide for the mechanized digging of the circular holes for the foundations, thus also saving, along with manual labor, the cost of the forms and fill; b) the expansion of the range of prefabricated elements for the ground where they are suitable.

At the same time, in order to raise the performances in erecting the self-supporting poles, the mounting of them on structures with a boom or with railcars will be generalized. Through this solution, besides the advantages involving quality and growth in labor productivity, big savings in liquid fuel are obtained, along with freeing big agricultural areas that are returned to agriculture. In the same field, work is now being done regarding improvement in the construction of the metallic pieces and regarding more sensible packaging, which would provide savings in transportation and manual labor.

Regarding the transformer stations, the generalization of the treatment of the oil in the big transformers with an ICFVA installation and of the equipment for drying the windings with hot air is planned, while for mounting the conductors the current technology on the 750-kilovolt line will be generalized, there having to be completed the equipment with a hydraulic brake for simultaneous work with three conductors.

The reduction of site-organization expenses to the utmost. For this reason, in the organizational plans it is stipulated that, in the period of doing the construction-assembly work, the following are to be utilized with priority: the basic work and, in particular, that for access roads, sources, and utility systems within the investment facilities, which must be executed in such a sequence as to permit their use in site organization without thereby extending the time for putting them into operation (especially in the case of transformer stations); the production and housing capacities and other spaces existing in the zone that can be used for this purpose; temporary mobile facilities for isolated sites with a short duration, up to 2 years.

The full use of the production capacity in each enterprise and brigade. Taking into account the plan targets provided for this year, measures that would lead to the growth of the production capacity, especially on the structure of 400-kilovolt lines, were established. This will help directly to increase the speed of execution, which means, ultimately, shorter periods for achieving the planned facilities.

The intensification of the efforts to steadily provide the material base. In this direction goes, in particular, the activity of industrial production proper, which, through better organization, can help to a greater extent to

provide the conditions for doing the construction-assembly work. At the same time, it is necessary for the Ministry of Electric Power to give more support to the trust with regard to steadily supplying some scarce materials, such as the various prototype dimensions of electric cables, conductors, etc.

The consistent application of all the measures established for the next period will create the conditions needed for completely fulfilling the plan targets for this year and putting into operation on schedule all the investment facilities slated for 1986. At the same time, the execution of these facilities on schedule, in accordance with the timetables, will permit the concentration of the efforts on properly preparing for the investments slated for 1987, so that the premises needed for completely carrying out the national energy program for the 1986-1990 period will be provided as early as the 1st year of the current 5-year period.

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ECONOMY

ROMANIA

PROBLEMS WITH CONTRACTS IN NEW ECONOMIC-FINANCIAL SYSTEM

Bucharest REVISTA ECONOMICA in Romanian No 35, 29 Aug 86 pp 15-16

[Article by Stelu Serban: "Economic Contracts--Instruments for the Strengthening of Economic and Financial Self-Management"]

[Text] In the process of strengthening the economic and financial self-management of the economic units, an extremely important role in the new economic and financial mechanism goes to economic contracts. The attainment of the incomes proper and profits of the units supplying as well as receiving products and services depends directly on the way in which they are substantiated, concluded, and honored. The analysis of these aspects is highly topical at present, considering that the short time remaining until the end of the year necessitates particular concern by the personnel involved both for steadily honoring the provisions of the contracts under execution this year and for contracting for the 1987 production.

According to the law, economic contracts constitute a principal instrument for substantiating and fulfilling the plans. Thus, the production meant for domestic consumption and for exportation must be based on firm contracts, framework contracts, long-term contracts, orders, or agreements that make supplying and selling a certainty. In this regard, it is necessary to intensify the actions performed in the period after approval of the plan in the summer to contract for production and to provide the material base for next year's production. We feel that, in practice, in thoroughly preparing for next year's production, it is also necessary to include the concerns regarding the steady execution of the technical-material supply in these last months of the year through which we are going.

As the party's secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, stressed, the indicators of the 1987 plan and the objectives of strengthening self-management and accenting the intensive, qualitative aspects of development have the material base provided and have the necessary conditions created for their complete fulfillment. However, this is, of course, under the conditions of the complete attainment of the physical production targets in the stipulated and contracted assortment structure by each economic unit, the strict observance of the planned consumption norms, the following of the new economic and financial standards and the new stock norms and standards, the attainment of the targets for recovery and reutilization of all reusable materials and of

secondary energy resources and the reconditioning of subassemblies and spare parts, the more marked utilization of domestic resources, and the matter of achieving on schedule and with high quality the new materials and products slated to be assimilated through a greater effort of creativity in all units of the economy.

1. A first group of problems on which our analysis will be concentrated are those referring to securing the steady execution of the supply for this year, pointing out the connections with the process of strengthening self-management. In 1986, the concerns of the enterprises for securing the attainment of the plan targets and delivering to the economy, to the contractual partners, products in the quantities and qualities stipulated in the economic contracts were intensified throughout the economy. And yet, in some economic units there still are problems regarding the execution of economic contracts that affect the attainment of incomes proper and profits at the stipulated level and thus self-financing and self-management. Thus, while, in general, the enterprises are meeting well their contractual obligations from the viewpoint of quantity and quality and the delivery dates set, there still are, however, unhonored or belatedly executed contracts, with consequences for the efficiency on all levels. In order to avoid the appearance of such shortcomings and secure a steady supply in conformity with the quantitative and qualitative provisions in the contracts, we feel that it is necessary to act with greater consistency and responsibility to rapidly generalize the good experience accumulated in the enterprises in this field. It is mainly a question of intensifying the concerns for:

The exemplary attainment of the planned physical output in the structure, on the dates, and in the quality conditions set by means of the contracts concluded--because the fact that, clearly, the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the plan for value and for some physical assortments cannot cover, cannot offset the shortfalls for other products must not be minimized. In this regard, the collaboration between suppliers and customers must involve the growth of the producing unit's responsibility for raising the labor productivity and using the production capacities to the utmost, for securing the reception of all contracted material resources by strengthening the connection with the supplier of raw materials and supplies and concluding long-term supply contracts, and for avoiding any gaps in the supply due to transport difficulties by raising the capacity of the unloading fronts, setting priorities in transportation, and eliminating bottlenecks in the loading and unloading activity by mechanizing these operations and organizing better the work of this nature;

The providing of a more efficient system for correlated pursuit of the attainment of the objectives put in the economic contracts and in the enterprise's income and expense budget in the light of the plan targets. Special attention must be given to achieving broad collaboration that leads to active and effective participation, in the unitary view of efficiency, by all the departments involved in the correlated pursuit and execution of the provisions in the contracts and budgets. On this occasion, we also state our opinion that the task of executing the contracts does not go exclusively to the supply and sales departments of the units, just as the pursuit of the execution of the income and expense budget cannot be the sole responsibility of the financial and

accounting department or the chief accountant either. Only the strengthening of the collaboration between the supply and sales departments, the financial and accounting departments, the production sections, and the warehouses for raw materials and finished products can secure the rigorous substantiation and the observance of the consumption and stock norms and lead to the prevention of overstocks of any sort and the speedup of the turnover of the circulating funds and the assets of the economic unit. Their efforts must be combined with the activity of the departments for planning, production scheduling and preparation, and research and design for continually reducing the consumption norms, correlating the assortment structure of the contracted production with the need to be filled, complying with the level of the expenditures stipulated in the standards and budgets, distinguishing the disruptive causes, and adopting the most efficient measures for completely honoring the provisions in the contracts under the conditions of cutting the production costs. We feel that the necessity that the provisions put in the income and expense budget also be approved by the head of the business department is also of definite utility in this context. We maintain that this could prevent the possible tendencies that still appear sometimes with regard to drawing up the budget only from the perspective of the planning or financial and accounting departments.

Of course, in order to achieve intensive development it is vital in all the enterprises to make steady efforts and to utilize all the reserves for rapid growth in labor productivity and for a marked cut in consumption and in the costs of the whole output. In order to accent the aspects of quality and efficiency in development, however, it is absolutely necessary for the concerns in this field, stipulated in the income and expense budgets, to be correlated as sensibly as possible with those regarding the attainment of the qualitative level stipulated in the contracts with the customers and to not hurt in any way the quality and competitiveness of the products. Thus, what could be gained in the net output, say, could be lost in selling and collecting for the commodity output, with unfavorable influences on the self-management of the supplier and the customer.

2. Of course, without exhausting all the aspects under discussion, we will concentrate our attention below on one of the second group of problems, referring to contracting for the 1987 production. Given the relatively short time that still remained until the end of the year and the provisions of the instructions referring to the dates for concluding the precontractual activities in the economy, we feel that the actions begun in order to finalize the sales and supply contracts must be greatly hastened in order to put the finishing touches on them as soon as possible. In this regard, we feel that the following aspects must also be taken into account more:

The matter of specifying rapidly and as thoroughly as possible next year's entire production and concluding the contracts with the customers. To this end, it is necessary for the customer units to act consistently to specify in detail their production and investment plan according to lists of technological equipment, which will permit them to submit the technical and economic working documentation to the supplier as soon as possible. The actions that involve the more detailed and systematic preparation, by the supplying units, of catalogs and prospectuses with the products that they make in order to thus more

rapidly and attractively bring them to the cognizance of potential customers are also of particular importance. We feel that there is a need, at the same time, for an increase in the receptiveness of the suppliers in the manufacture of assortment and prototype dimensions conforming to the concrete requirements of the customers, for direct contact with the suppliers to get detailed knowledge of the manufacturing possibilities that they have, and, in general, for the intensification of the activity of prospecting of the market by customers, for as penetrating a marketing activity as possible through which the partners may make known to each other as concretely as possible their reciprocal possibilities and necessities;

The issuing of the orders on the basis of the allotments and the concluding of the contracts for supplying raw materials and supplies. The rough, not very concrete determination of the need to be filled constitutes the main difficulty in this process, due to its being done before the physical specification of the production plan and the consumption and stock norms. This year, due to the steps taken to specify the plan provisions in due time and to set improved economic and financial norms and standards, the enterprises have better conditions for concluding the supply contracts. On this basis, it is necessary to speed up the specifications where this action has not yet been finished.

Undoubtedly, the reception of the allotments in due time from the balance co-ordinators and the preparation of them in strict accordance with the realities of the production at the suppliers and with the requirements set by the customers within the specifications drawn up according to qualities and assortments are also essential for concluding the contracts.

In the entire action of concluding the economic contracts for sales as well as for supplies, it is necessary to expand the role of the industrial centrals not only in order to secure the steady execution of the supply in the next plan year and provide suitable deliveries to customers but also so that all these activities may help more greatly to perform efficient activity, to increase profits, and to strengthen self-management. In this regard, we feel that it is necessary to increase the concerns of the enterprise and the economic central for substantiating the income and expense budget in complete accordance with the provisions that are put in the economic contracts. Self-management requires a clear record: Each unit must know exactly how much it consumes and what incomes it will collect from selling the production in order to be able to honor fully its obligations to the state and the banks, to form its own funds, and to increase its contribution to the general development funds of society. Precisely the correspondence between the contract and the budget can make a particular contribution to meeting this requirement. Thus, by utilizing as well as possible the information put in the sales contracts, it is possible to achieve as thorough a substantiation as possible of the "incomes" section of the budgets not only overall but also according to the various sources. Likewise, by taking into account the provisions put in the supply contracts, there is a direct contribution to substantiating and watching the "expenses" section of the income and expense budgets not only overall but also according to primary elements.

The importance and complexity of the economic contracts and the income and expense budgets necessitate in each unit the broad participation of the whole staff in substantiating and preparing on a common basis these instruments for self-management. The setting and correlation of their provisions must constitute an object of the periodic discussions of the working people's councils and general assemblies on all levels of the enterprise. During the discussions of this nature, it is necessary to insist on making thorough analyses of the provisions that they contain and of the way of implementing them, on distinguishing various alternatives of correlation, on pointing out the influencing factors, and on setting concrete dates and responsibilities. Such analyses can constitute a distinct point on the agenda of the working people's general assemblies in this period and of the management councils, with an accent being put on concrete measures for meeting at a higher level the requirements of the customers under conditions of increased efficiency by the producer.

Unitary efforts must also be made in order to provide at a higher level the function of the contracts and the income and expense budget with regard to speeding up the turnover of the material and monetary resources in the possession of the enterprises. In this framework, we stress that strict compliance with the new norms regarding the need for circulating funds, the improvement of the supply, the prevention and elimination of superfluous and unmoving stocks and of tieups of material and financial resources, and the shortening of the manufacturing and sales cycle are imperatives to which special attention must be devoted during the substantiation and then the execution of the contracts and the execution of the budget. In such ways, waste in any form, any kind of inadvisable and inefficient expenditure, must be prevented and stopped as early as the phase of conception. In this regard, the specialists in the supply and sales field and those in the financial and accounting field must collaborate actively throughout this period to utilize the information offered daily by the operational record referring to production, allotments, specifications, and sales and supply contracts to make as correct estimates as possible regarding the costs and profits of the future production, their own obligations, and those of the customers.

Next year, in 1987, the economic sales and supply contracts can and must fortify their role in the process of the strengthening of self-management. To this end, the actions performed must pursue most urgently the concluding of the actions of contracting for the 1987 production, in such a way as to ensure, at the customer, the meeting of the requirements at a higher level and, at the producer, the speedup of the selling of and collecting for the commodity output and the growth of incomes proper, of profits, and of efficiency.

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POLITICS

BULGARIA

INTERNATIONAL JOURNALISTS' ORGANIZATION DISCUSSED

Activities Described by MOZh Secretary

Sofia BULGARSKI ZHURNALIST in Bulgarian No 8, 1986 pp 2-4

[Article by Boris Sakharov, MOZh secretary: "MOZh on the Eve of Its 10th Congress;" article written especially for BULGARSKI ZHURNALIST]

[Text] MOZh, which was created in the atmosphere of universal upsurge of the nations, following the defeat of Hitlerite fascism and the victorious end of World War II, has covered a long and glorious road and has greatly contributed to the international unity of journalists. Today it is the largest worldwide organization of journalists, with 200,000 members sharing different political, philosophical and religious views, from some 100 countries--socialist, capitalist and developing--on all continents. The unions affiliated with the MOZh sacredly observe the behests of the participants in the constituent congress, which was held in Copenhagen in 1946: to struggle against war propaganda and against fascism in all of its manifestations, against the dissemination of national and racial enmity and against the creation of international tension with the help of all types of lies and slanders, and for the preservation of peace and strengthening friendship and cooperation among nations by providing free, truthful and honest information to the public."

The time since the founding of the MOZh proved that the political and professional tasks of journalist are, above all, to struggle for the ideals for which they struggled during the war, for the ideals which they swore to honor 40 years ago.

Dealing with the problems of war and peace is the first and most important task of the MOZh.

The threat of nuclear war has concerned the world public and triggered the antiwar movement in which the journalists have actively involved themselves. What is remarkable is that it includes journalists who, until recently, considered this movement a nonprofessional journalistic project. This was particularly felt and manifested in Europe for, on the one hand, it was here that MOZh was born and where the antifascist and antiwar principles governing its activities and its objectives and tasks were formulated and, on the other, because the largest national journalistic organizations are in the European countries. Furthermore, above all, it is in Europe that events take place and problems are solved, which largely determine the destinies of the world.

The following actions in the defense of peace were carried out recently on MOZh initiative.

Every year European journalists celebrate the date 22 October, within the United Nations disarmament week, as a day of action for peace by the journalists. In the past 2 years the journalists have sponsored antiwar actions in a variety of European countries (Finland, England, Denmark, Sweden, the FRG, Portugal), such as conferences, round-table meetings, seminars and symposia, with the participation of broad circles of workers in the mass information media in these countries. On MOZh initiative, and with the support of a number of European journalistic organizations, journalistic fora were held, such as the meeting in Salonika, Helsinki and Jablona (Poland), with the participation of people of different political persuasions from East and West. Views were exchanged at these meetings on the most important problem: the role of mass information media in the struggle against the threat of war.

MOZh steadily supports proposals for creating nuclear and chemical weapon-free zones in Central and Northern Europe, the Balkans and the Mediterranean, and proposals calling for universal disarmament and banning tests of all types of mass destruction weapons, thermonuclear above all.

Our organization has always actively supported the idea of convening a European conference for security and cooperation and making Europe a continent without wars. On the eve of the Helsinki talks, MOZh turned not only to the journalist but to political leaders, scientists, men of culture and other representatives of public opinion, calling upon them to support with all their strength the idea of security and cooperation among nations on the European continent. After the successful completion of the conference on security and cooperation in Europe, MOZh stressed that journalists the world over must mobilize world public opinion for the implementation of the Helsinki agreements. At the same time, our organization itself engaged in an extensive struggle in this direction, broadly popularizing the Final Act and exposing all plans aimed at ignoring or undermining the historical decisions adopted at the European conference.

MOZh proceeds in its activities from the fact that the growing role of information in social life is one of the characteristic features of our time. The question of the constructive use of mass information media to promote the cause of peace and to strengthen confidence among peoples was reflected in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Let us note that despite differences in the canons of journalistic ethics, prevailing in different countries and dictated by different approaches to the profession, the journalists have begun to develop a specific feature: a growing understanding of the threat of a military conflict. They are realizing with increasing clarity that reactionary circles of the military-industrial complex in the West are able to manipulate world public opinion through the mass information media.

In accordance with the recommendations of the UN General Assembly, the world democratic public extensively and actively marked the International Year of

Peace, giving its due to the most representative world organization: the United Nations. For the past 40 years the United Nations has worked for the cause of peace and its actions have reflected the interests and hopes of the peoples who experienced the tragedy of two world wars, and their resolve not to allow the outbreak of a new conflagration.

In this connection, a great variety of steps and actions were sponsored in many countries throughout the world aimed at informing the world public of the tasks, history, efforts, successes and difficulties in the work of the United Nations. Hence the tasks of MOZh during the International Year of Peace were: both it and its member unions and regional journalistic associations try to support UN activities and positively contribute to solving problems related to the international exchange of information.

The very fact that this prestigious world forum deals with this problem, by discussing it alongside problems of safeguarding peace, proves the growing attention which public opinion pays to the type of information and the purposes for which it is disseminated along the numerous channels of international exchange--radio and television, newspapers, periodicals and news agencies.

In this context, the MOZh General Secretariat considers the following tasks in the course of our joint actions in support of the United Nations and the peaceful initiatives of the socialist countries as particularly relevant:

Condemnation of the dissemination and propaganda of political and military doctrines and concepts aimed at substantiating the "privilege" of first use of nuclear weapons and, in general, the "admissibility" of the outbreak of nuclear war;

Ending military propaganda in the United States and the other NATO countries and the militaristic stir aimed at psychologically preparing the people for a new war and erecting a propaganda screen for the arms race.

Another area in which the use of mass information media for unseemly purposes is increasing is the policy of state terrorism and actions aimed at undermining the sociopolitical system of sovereign countries. Some of the elements of such activities include ideological subversion, "psychological warfare" waged by imperialism against the socialist and a number of developing countries, and efforts to interfere in their internal affairs, including by means of subversive propaganda. The scale of subversive U.S. radio broadcasting and plans for a global television expansion are being formulated within the framework of the anti-communist "crusade." A term such as "ideological terrorism" has appeared. Subversive imperialist propaganda activities are a relevant factor of the international situation.

The condemnation of Nazi, fascist and neofascist ideology and practice as incompatible with the objectives and principles of the United Nations Charter is directly related to information and propaganda.

Also extremely relevant is the question of the demand of developing countries for decolonization of information and help in the development of their own

information systems and training journalistic cadres in Asian, African and Latin American countries. In this connection, we must take into consideration in our daily journalistic work that the United States and its closest NATO allies are firmly opposed to establishing a corresponding information system.

In addition to the implementation of major political actions aimed against war, imperialism and reaction, and for peace and friendship among the peoples, MOZh actively works for the solution of professional problems related to the responsibility of journalists and propaganda organs for truthful and honest information. It struggles against the concentration and monopolizing of mass information media in the West. We comprehensively support Western journalists who are fighting for their rights. We provide moral and material support to democratic and progressive journalists persecuted by the reaction and to our colleagues in countries defending their national independence.

MOZh disseminates and defends the truly democratic concept of the basic rights and freedoms of man. Let us note in this connection that in all democratic societies the organic tie between citizens' rights and freedoms and their obligations to society and the state is recognized. This concept is entirely consistent with international law--with the pacts relative to political, civic, economic, social and cultural rights and freedoms.

MOZh actively and systematically exposes all violations of basic rights and freedoms of citizens in the United States, England, the FRG and other capitalist countries and in Latin America. Such violations are taking place in all areas of social life--economic, sociopolitical and spiritual and in relations among nations (racism, apartheid, segregation). A great deal of attention is paid to problems of international solidarity. We actively participate in campaigns against terrorism and police repression. We provide extensive moral support to our colleagues abroad who fight imperialism, colonialism, racism and Zionism.

As we assess our past work, we note that MOZh has paid great attention to international solidarity. Support of and aid to the heroic people of Nicaragua in their armed struggle and in peaceful construction, and solidarity with journalists in Latin American countries, support of the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola, and help to journalists in South Africa, who are fighting for the national rights of their people, are only part of MOZh solidarity actions.

Equally important are MOZh actions aimed against the persecution of democratic journalist in Chile, Guatemala, El Salvador and other countries with dictatorial regimes. MOZh is significantly contributing to the peaceful settlement of the Middle Eastern conflict, for developing a movement of solidarity with the just struggle waged by the Arab peoples for the liberation of territories occupied by Israel and for restoring the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

With a view to upgrading its role and the reputation of democratic journalism, MOZh pays great attention to its participation in solving topical problems in the area of international information. That is why the organization regularly participates in a number of actions promoted by the United Nations

and UNESCO and, in turn, representatives of these organizations are participating in MOZh activities with increased frequency.

The question of the constructive use of mass information media in the interests of peace and confidence among nations was reflected in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. In addition to this document, MOZh is also guided by the stipulations of the UNESCO declaration of basic principles related to the contribution of mass information media to strengthening peace and international understanding and the struggle against racism, apartheid and incitement of war. It can be said that, for the first time in international practice, these documents assigned to the journalists the sacred task of contributing to the rapprochement among nations for the sake of peace and progress and erecting a reliable barrier on the path of forces which use information channels for the dissemination of slander and disinformation.

The main purpose of the broad and frequently sharp debate which is taking place today on problems of the role and place of mass information media in the contemporary world and the principles governing the organization of international information exchanges, naturally, is not to formulate some kind of uniform system applicable to all countries and societies with different social systems and different national and cultural traditions. Its purpose is to prove to the world the type of influential, real and essentially material force which this important area of communication among nations has become today. It is a force the use of which requires a responsible approach and fair international control.

Obviously, arbitrariness and the application of "power" methods are inadmissible in this area. As in any other system of international relations, the system of international exchange of information must rest on international law and, specifically, on fundamental legal principles, such as respect for the sovereignty of countries and noninterference in their domestic affairs. However, it is a question above all of something else--of the basic norms of journalistic ethics which must be consistent with the real situation in international relations. It is one thing to defend and disseminate one's ideals, and something entirely different maliciously to distort facts, engage in gross slander and interfere in the domestic affairs of other countries. Unfortunately, there are leaders who have neither drawn nor wish to draw the necessary conclusions based on the stipulations of the Final Act, which was signed by the heads of state of their own countries. Increasingly the same old reasons for the need to rearm, the "Soviet threat," the unnecessary nature of detente, etc., are heard in the English, German, French, Japanese and other languages. In this manner, as I already mentioned, actual "psychological warfare" is being promoted. The reactionary forces are trying to delay the process of detente and, at the same time, to draw the attention away from acute social and economic problems in their own countries, problems which have been awaiting a solution for many years.

The problem of the international dissemination of information has another important aspect as well: it is a question of the policy of "information imperialism," which has been actively pursued in recent years by the West toward the developing countries. The information services which these

countries create are experiencing an actual most fierce information pressure on the part of the largest Western news agencies. The latter pour on the populations of these countries an avalanche of information which, even if pertaining to them, has been shaped by the news agencies in their own image. In the developing countries themselves, the imperialist agents have also become energized and one of their main purposes is the "struggle against communism." To this effect, the ideological imperialist services are taking a number of steps to preserve their influence in the information area.

As we know, a broad anti-UNESCO campaign is taking place in the West. More specifically, that organization is being charged with undermining "Western values, freedom of the individual and freedom of the press." That, however, is not the problem. UNESCO activities irritate the owners of information oligarchies in the Western countries, who see in the organization a threat to their frequently irresponsible domination of the world "information market" with impunity. The Western "big press" rejects the principle of responsibility of mass information media and believes that in this respect UNESCO activities are an encroachment on the freedom of the press. As a professional organization, naturally, MOZh also deals with improving the social working and living conditions of workers in the mass information media. Particularly active in this respect is the MOZh Social Commission. As we know, the organization of such activities has been entrusted to the Bulgarian colleagues and the seat of the commission is in Sofia. The MOZh Social Commission deals with problems of the legal status of journalists in different countries, their appointment and dismissal, the length of their working day and paid leave, social security and new technologies. The authoritative recommendations of the Social Commission are contributing to the better solution of such problems in the interests of journalists. Furthermore, two international rest centers for journalists have become widely popular in different journalistic circles: the first, which was built in 1959 on the Black Sea shore, in Varna; the second, which opened in 1965, on the shore of the Hungarian Lake Balaton. About 100,000 journalists from different countries and members of their families spend their leave in these places.

From the very first days of the creation of MOZh Bulgarian journalist became its active participants. They have made a great contribution to the development of this international journalist organization. Therefore, in the year of the 40th MOZh anniversary it is no accident whatsoever that its 10th Congress is taking place in Sofia. The world journalistic public is confident that the Bulgarian colleagues will properly welcome the participants in this journalistic forum and will jointly demonstrate at it their firm aspiration toward peace, friendship, cooperation and reciprocal understanding among nations.

Further Review of Journalists' Activities

Sofia BULGARSKI ZHURNALIST in Bulgarian No 9, 1986 pp 18-20

[Article by Elena Bradvarova: "Panorama of Democratic Journalism"]

[Text] Publishing has been one of the most significant activities of the International Organization of Journalists, ever since its foundation, 40 years ago. MOZh publications deal with topical problems of the international situation and the development of mass information media throughout the world. They are important and useful reading for progressive and democratic journalists on all continents, to whom they provide full information and guidance in the complex problems of our times, enhance their professional skills and acquaint them with the work of the press, radio and television in various countries and parts of the world.

The monthly periodical THE DEMOCRATIC JOURNALIST is the central organ of the MOZh, published since 1953 in Prague by the MOZh General Secretariat (as stipulated in the organization's charter--author) in English, French, Spanish and Russian (the Russian edition is published in Moscow). Rudolf Psevratil is editor in chief and Karel (Khich) is responsible editor.

The main task of the periodical is to keep informed the national organization and national group members of MOZh about the various aspects of the comprehensive activities of the International Organization of Journalists concerning all most important actions and initiatives carried out by the organization. Furthermore, the periodical follows a well thought-out systematic editorial policy fully consistent with basic MOZh objectives and tasks. The problems which are most emphasized are the struggle for peace and disarmament and for truthful and honest information of the broad international public, problems of professional ethics, defense of journalists and their professional interests and creative freedom, and exposure of imperialist propaganda and strategy. The editors react to all important international actions and events which influence directly or indirectly the work of journalists and mass information media. They try to provide useful and interesting information on new trends in the development of journalism in the world. Ties with the readers are maintained through excerpts from letters to the editors, published in the periodical.

A look at the trends in the issues published throughout the years shows a continuing desire for renovation and improvement. The periodical regularly publishes large numbers of photographs. Its cover is originally designed and varies with each issue.

A review of the 12 issues for 1985 (the English-language version, THE DEMOCRATIC JOURNALIST) highlights some main sections consistent with the main topic areas: "MOZh Activities," "Peace and Disarmament," "Defense of Journalists," "New International Information and Communications Order," "What They Said" ("That Which They Said"). Each issue includes a short editorial in the rubric "Topical Subject," related to an important international event. Let us note the praiseworthy efforts of the editors to inform their readers of

new developments in information and communications technology in the rubric "Media Technology" and thus to respond to the increased interest shown in the tempestuous changes occurring in this area. Issues 1 and 2 included a glossary of terms related to video technology and cable television, thus extending the practice initiated in 1984, when the periodical published a glossary of the most important terms in the area of long-distance communications equipment and the printing industry.

For the third consecutive year, MOZh has sponsored a seminar on problems of new technologies in the field of information and communications held in May in Balatonseplak. The "Media Technology" rubric in issue No 10 carries the opening speech by Irczi Kubka, MOZh secretary general, at the second seminar in Balatonseplak, on "New Technologies and the Journalist's Profession." Irczi Kubka emphasized the need for increased integration and coordination in the activities of the members of the socialist community in connection with the accelerated development of new technology and its most efficient utilization in the mass information media. The author also discussed the tasks facing MOZh and the first steps taken in this respect: the establishment of a consultative center where data on development, efficiency and usefulness are gathered and processed along with experience acquired in the application of new technologies in various parts of the world. This center will include a circle of specialists who could provide specific assistance in installing electronic equipment in editorial premises in the socialist countries.

MOZh institutes and solidarity courses offer training in new equipment in mass information media for purposes of training journalists from the developing countries. It is thus that MOZh tries to provide efficient and practical assistance in an area of exceptional importance, in which problems involve not only technical equipment but also well-planned possibilities and consequences of the application of new technologies and the ability of third world countries to develop their information infrastructure free from the interference of major multinational companies and capitalist mass information media.

The same rubric also included a report by Yves Saint Jacob, national secretary of the National Union of French Journalists, affiliated with the General Confederation of Labor, entitled "The Large Multimedia and the Nature of the Journalistic Profession." The report discussed the tempestuous development of new technologies in France, paralleling the shaping of large "multimedia" associations, which control printed publications, radio and television stations, advertising and information services. This evolution is taking

place in close cooperation between the private and state sectors. At the same time, a green light was given to the development of private radio and television stations. A broad campaign is underway, mounted by political sectors closest to private capital, to accelerate this process even further and have all mass information transferred to private owners. The author discussed the consequences of such changes on the profession of the journalist in France and pointed out that cooperation must be intensified and the efforts of journalists, printing workers and their personnel in defense of their interests must be increased.

Without going into details, let us note the permanent rubrics in the periodical, entitled "Lexicon," "Periodicals," "Books," and "Chronicle," which provide valuable information on a variety of international and regional journalistic organizations, research units in the field of journalism in different countries, newly founded regional news agencies in the developing countries, periodical publications of the national unions and by MOZh members, new books on the theory and practice of journalists, and current events related to the activities of journalist organizations throughout the world.

The periodical has a wide range of contributors who work in the mass information media in various parts of the world, scientists, specialists, and members of the MOZh secretariat and presidium. Reports and statements made at numerous meetings, sessions, seminars and discussions sponsored by MOZh or in which its representatives have actively participated are published. The general impression gathered from materials published in 1985 is one of a broad panoramic view of the development of journalism and mass information media in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America, and of the comprehensive and varied MOZh activities related to the basic purposes and tasks of the organization. These purposes and tasks remain unchanged; they are part of the MOZh bylaws and were adopted as early as at its first congress, in Copenhagen, in June 1946, as the organization's president, professor Kaarle Nordenstreg, has repeatedly emphasized in his statements: unifying the efforts of all honest, progressive and democratic journalists in the world in the struggle for peace and disarmament and for defending and enhancing professional and ethical standards in journalism, the struggle against war propaganda and the propaganda of any aspect of fascism, against the dissemination of national and racial hatred, against the development of international tension through all kinds of lies and slanders and for the honest, free and truthful information of the public, in defense of the rights of journalists, and in the struggle for improving material working and living conditions.

At this point let us also note the efforts of MOZh to make progress in an exceptionally important area: the adoption of basic internationally held principles of professional ethics in journalism. The majority of organized journalists in the world took part in the fourth consultative meeting of international and regional journalist organizations, which was held in Prague and, subsequently, in Paris in 1983, to discuss and adopt a document entitled "International Principles of Professional Ethics in Journalism." They included MOZh, the MFZh (International Federation of Journalists), UCIP (International Catholic Press Union), FELAP (Federation of Latin American Journalists), FAZh (Federation of Arab Journalists), the Union of African Journalists, the Confederation of ASEAN Journalists, and the Federation of

Latin American Press Workers. In a new rubric entitled "Journalistic Ethics," issue No 2 of THE DEMOCRATIC JOURNALIST carries the article by Kaarle Nordenstreg, MOZh president, "From International Law to International Principles," in which the author emphasizes the significance of the document and its universal nature and traces historically efforts to formulate principles of journalistic ethics which would be universally adopted on an international scale, as of the 1930s. He adopts the familiar UNESCO 1978 Mass Information Media Declaration as a successful base for the formulation of a truly international journalistic ethic and as a source of inspiration to and support of journalistic organizations in their efforts to apply their professional code throughout the world. In this sense, the ten international principles of professional ethics in journalism which were adopted (which were also published in issue No 2 of the periodical) constitute an important success in the aspiration to define and assess the social role and responsibility of journalists today, and their political and ideological orientation in the service of the progressive and democratic ideals of the broad international public.

The defense of journalists, particularly in carrying out their professional duty involving dangerous assignments, is a particularly important problem which is almost always included in the agenda of a number of meetings on the international and regional levels, organized by MOZh, as well as at seminars and conferences in which the organization is represented. Despite the active efforts of progressive professional organizations throughout the world, no basic solution has been found as yet to the problem of the persecution and protection of journalists. The escalation of international tension in recent years has adversely affected taking efficient steps to solve this problem which, although mainly humanitarian is, in the final account, a manifestation of national and international class conflicts. This problem was discussed quite extensively in issues Nos 1, 3 and 4. The articles by Hans-Peter Gasser, head of the legal department of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and by Alain Modou, head of the ICRC information department, in issues 1 and 3, comprehensively analyze the existing legal stipulations on this matter, indicating that more efficient measures and means for their effective application are needed in order reliably to protect journalists carrying out dangerous assignments. Issue No 9 carries a report on a round table seminar on "Safety of Journalists Performing Dangerous Assignments," which was held in Switzerland in April 1985. The report notes the record number of participants and representatives of 16 international and regional organizations of journalists and publishers, including MOZh, FELAP, FAZh and others. Despite the steps and suggestions formulated at that seminar, which was organized by the International Committee of the Red Cross, the problem of the protection of journalists remains unsolved.

The topic of the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitlerite fascism was extensively reflected in virtually all issues of the periodical in 1985. It was also related to the struggle for peace and disarmament and against the nuclear race and the threat of nuclear catastrophe. MOZh sponsored a number of initiatives on the occasion of the anniversary. Issue No 9 carries an extensive report on the international meeting of journalists and a conference on "The Responsibility of Journalists in the Defense of Peace," which was held in Berlin in April 1985 and was jointly sponsored by MOZh and the Union of GDR

Journalists. Journalists from 18 countries and representatives of number of public organizations and movements in the struggle against fascism took part at the "Torgau '85" encounter. The same issue carried information on the international retrospective exhibit of militant posters, sponsored by MOZh, which took place from 7 May to 2 June in Prague, and which was also dedicated to the great anniversary of the victory over fascism.

Much of the materials in No 9 deal with the meeting held by the MOZh presidium in Quito (Ecuador) from 28 June to 2 July 1985. The meeting dealt with the complex contemporary international situation and defined the tasks of the organization. It expressed MOZh support of progressive regimes in Africa, Asia and Latin America and condemned the aggressive policy of American imperialism. Also adopted at that session was the motion that the 10th MOZh Congress be held in Sofia in October 1986. The communique of the session notes that preparations for the congress will be carried out with a view to unifying even further the ranks of the international journalistic movement and enhancing even higher the role and reputation of MOZh. The conviction that the basic task of progressive and democratic journalists throughout the world is to intensify their activities in defense of peace was expressed in connection with the proclamation by the United Nations of 1986 as the Year of Peace and in connection with the 40th anniversary of the founding of MOZh.

At that meeting the initiative of the Finnish journalists of holding an international journalistic conference on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the Helsinki Final Act was approved. Information on that conference was published in issue No 12 of the periodical. The article "MOZh and the Helsinki Spirit," which was published in issue No 9, indicates that at all of its meetings and sessions of the presidium and the executive committee and at the 8th and 9th MOZh Congresses, the organization has paid great attention to the implementation of the ideas formulated at the Helsinki conference, which remain topical and necessary. It is emphasized that the principles of understanding and reciprocal cooperation among nations and the struggle for the preservation of peace and strengthening security in Europe and throughout the world are basic features of MOZh activities.

It is difficult in a short review to cover the entire variety of materials published in THE DEMOCRATIC JOURNALIST in 1985 or in general. Let us note that the editors are successfully carrying out their main tasks which are to reflect fully and comprehensively the many-faceted activities of the organization and support through the articles they publish the principles and ideas of progressive and democratic journalism.

5003
CSO: 2200/14

POLITICS

POLAND

ADVENT OF WESTERN SATELLITE TV POSES CHALLENGE

Warsaw ANTENA in Polish No 40, 29 Sep-5 Oct 86 p 2

[Article by (b): "Fears and Hopes" surtitled "At the Threshold of the Era of Satellite TV"]

[Text] Since 1985 20 programs broadcast by various Western TV organizations can already be received in Poland -- if appropriate permits are issued and a "dish" antenna and a TV set are owned. These programs are transmitted by means of four geostationary satellites. One of the producers of these programs, which reach televiewers throughout Europe, is Cable News Network in Atlanta (United States) whose owner, Ted Turner, had sponsored the recent Goodwill Olympics in Moscow. Another producer is the Luxembourg "Music Box" (entertainment). A news program by the BBC, which is to broadcast half-hour programs daily, is in its final stage of preparations. In addition, 10 television programs from, among other countries, the United States, the FRG, Great Britain, and Italy are being broadcast through the mediation of the Eutelsat Communications Satellite. Experts claim that most of these programs do not deviate from the technical quality of the programs of our television so far as the quality of picture reception is concerned. In the not distant future the FRG, France, Sweden, and other Western countries plan to insert in geostationary orbits their own TV satellites assuring a high quality of picture reception throughout Poland as well. According to Western estimates, this too will contribute to the rise in Poland of the number of places at which Western programs can be recorded on video cassettes.

According to Leslaw Wojtasik's commentary in KULTURA (No 37), "Western centers of ideological diversionary activity intend in the immediate future to develop a new front of information struggle against the socialist countries. This front is the currently functioning system of direct-reception satellite TV." This diagnosis was confirmed by Secretary of State George Schultz [as published] who said that he wants to make of satellite TV a means of promoting "the destabilization of the domestic situation in the socialist countries." The former head of Radio Free Europe George Urban, views similarly the role of Western television vis a vis viewers in East Europe. He referred to it as supposedly "an analgesic, a means enabling the viewer to escape reality. The situation is viewed similarly by an American Sovietologist, Vozlensky, who boastfully claims that Western satellite TV will gradually undermine the

socialist system of values and weaken the conviction of viewers in the socialist countries in the reformability of their systems.

But other views on this issue also are held in the West. As stated not without reason by NEWSWEEK (18 August 1986), "It seems unlikely that Western television would present a direct peril to the countries of the Soviet bloc. Possibilities for a change are determined by political realities rather than by the reach of the mass media."

In one way or another, we already are crossing the threshold of the era of satellite TV. This era may become a time of international exchange of information and cultural boons. It may also become a period of "the war of words and pictures" and another propaganda aggression by the West. This will depend on the state of the relations between, chiefly, the Soviet Union and the United States, as well as on American reactions to Soviet peace initiatives.

Today more than ever it pays to understand the mechanisms of the information war whose proponents in the West have at their disposal modern technologies and new techniques of action. This need is justly stressed by the aforementioned Leslaw Wojtasik.

But at the same time it should be realized that, while we do not have a monopoly on information and on shaping the views of the society, we should attend to a high level, credibility, and wise argumentation of our propaganda. Only programs which deal with issues of concern to the public and which do not gloss over facts have a chance to reach unconvinced people and those standing aloof; only such programs can convince people of our rationales. In this field much still remains to be done in television and radio. This also concerns artistic programs which, by affecting the imagination and emotions, can perpetuate more effectively in the consciousness of audiences our own socialist system of values while at the same time presenting the humanist accomplishments of European and world culture.

1386
CSO: 2600/115

POLITICS

POLAND

REACTION TO CHERNOBYL REVIEWED IN HEALTH SERVICE WEEKLY

Warsaw SLUZBA ZDROWIA in Polish No 39, 28 Sep 86 p 2

[Article by (m.cz.): "Assessment and Recommendations" subtitled "Following the Tragedy in Chernobyl"]

[Text] Half a year has already passed since the tragic accident in Chernobyl. This is too short a period for the society's concern and, more even, anxiety to completely fade away. At the same time, this period is sufficiently long to provide the public with the greatest amount of information possible, following an extensive series of thorough studies and the drafting of a preliminary report by the Government Commission for Assessing Nuclear Radiation and Preventive Measures (a report that will be published in its entirety by RZECZPOSPOLITA Press).

On 11 September 1986 a conference attended by members of that Government Commission was held at the Government Press Office.

It was recalled that on 26 April 1986 at 0123 hours, as a result of the breakdown of the nuclear power plant in Chernobyl (about 130 km to the north of Kiev) and the release of radioactive substances into the atmosphere, Poland, beginning on 28 April, faced for the first time a potential radiological danger. This happened as late as on 28 April, because previously the air masses at first moved northward, but on the third day the shifting winds carried a mass of contaminated air onto our country.

We faced an atypical situation. For this was the first time that we encountered a biological peril due to the breakdown of a nuclear power plant although our country itself lacks plants of this type. We also lack bilateral or multilateral agreements for the provision of information on breakdowns of this kind (an exception is the recommendation of the Permanent Commission of CEMA on criteria and methods for provision of information on breakdowns of nuclear facilities}. Fortunately, the reaction of our authorities and experts was swift and, as it turned out later, correct, as is nowadays admitted by representatives of many countries and the World Health Organization as well.

The report of the Central Radiological Protection Laboratory on radioactive contamination in this country on 28 April 1986 at 2130 hours, and the assessment of the country's radiological situation conducted by the State

Atomic Energy Agency on the night between 28 and 29 April prompted the appointment on that same night, by the chairman of the Council of Ministers, of the Government Commission which just presented the aforementioned report.

The report specifies how many immediate measures were taken, how many persons were placed on emergency status, and how broad were the preventive actions taken. For allowance had to be made for three variants of further evolution of the situation: the mastering of the situation at Chernobyl within the next few days, and thereby also the elimination of further emission of radioactive substances; a slow mastering of the situation at the accident site, with gradual cooling of the reactor and gradual decline in the emission of radioactive substances; and lastly, the possibility that the reactor could not be cooled rapidly and that even there would be a meltdown of the foundations of Unit 4 of the power plant and the spread of the breakdown (conflagration) to Unit 3.

Variant 2 was adopted as basic for taking decisions while at the same time keeping track of the situation at Chernobyl and conducting continuous measurements of atmospheric and ground contamination. On this basis it was resolved to implement prophylactic measures with the object of limiting the risk of radiological contamination of children and youth by the iodine isotope I-131.

These problems are well-known to our readers, and we shall consider certain of their aspects, especially health prognoses, in a separate article. But it is worth noting that, during the press conference, Docent Tadeusz Rzymkowski, director of the Central Radiological Protection Laboratory, announced that the contamination in this country was not at a level imperiling the health of its citizens.

As measured since 28 April, the doses and contamination of air in Poland have throughout been below the permissible limits determined on the basis of recommendations of the International Atomic Energy Agency and the International Commission for Radiological Protection in the case of nuclear reactor breakdowns. Similar levels were recorded in other European countries.

At present the situation in this country has returned to normal.

What conclusions were drawn from the report and activities of the Government Commission? According to Dr Mieczyslaw Sowinski, chairman of the State Atomic Energy Agency, the plans for the Zarnowiec [Nuclear] Power Plant Project will have to be reassessed. For special attention has to be paid to the quality of materials and equipment and all operations for that project as well as, in the future, to preparations for activating that power plant.

Since it is now known that the cause of the accident at Chernobyl (as well as of other, not necessarily nuclear, accidents worldwide) was human error, human inattention, and perhaps insufficient adaptation to the latest achievements of civilization, the selection and subsequent training of the most suitable personnel should be of constant concern. In general, the view is that persons working at nuclear power stations should have at least 7 years of training in their specialties.

Such training is also extended to physicians, the objective being that an appropriate course of instruction complementing their knowledge would be extended to the entire professional medical personnel, voivodship physicians, hospital administrators, and directors of rural health centers. This is a highly important matter, because at present too little attention to teaching protection against ionizing radiation is being paid at medical academies.

At the same time, a modicum of knowledge -- or rather of familiarization with the perils harbored by modern civilization, and especially by the utilization of nuclear energy -- is needed by the entire society. The psychological trauma caused by the tragedy in Chernobyl may have been greater than (in this case) the contamination of our atmosphere.

Lastly, it is worth noting that an advanced stage has been reached by work on drafting agreements to be signed by Poland with other countries on mutual early warning about such accidents and elimination of their consequences. For nowadays a growing number of increasingly serious problems crucial to human life transcends the boundaries of any single country.

1386
CSO: 2600/115

POLITICS

POLAND

DELEGATES RECEIVE, ACCEPT NEW CULTURE MINISTER

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 40, 4 Oct 86 p 5

[Sejm Interview with Aleksander Krawczuk, newly appointed minister of culture, reported by Zdzislaw Zaryczny: "Preliminary Hearing" subtitled "How the Deputies Evaluated the Candidate for Minister"]

[Text] Kazimierz Kolub (ZSL) [United Peasant Party], chairing the Culture Commission as deputy of Chairman Piotr Stefanski (SD) [Democratic Party]: "Fellow Deputies! It is my duty and honor to chair today's session of the Commission. The main reason why we are gathered here stems from the item incorporated in today's agenda of the Sejm: changes in the membership of the Council of Ministers. I request the Vice Chairman of the Council of Ministers Professor Zbigniew Gertych to take the floor on this issue."

Deputy Prime Minister Zbigniew Gertych: "I have the honor and pleasure to present the recommendation of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers who, subsequent to recalling Professor Kazimierz Zygułski for another assignment, nominates Prof Aleksander Krawczuk for the post of minister of culture and arts. I believe that the nominee is so well-known to you that there is hardly any need for me to introduce him and sketch his background, but formalities have to be attended to.

"We both were born in 1922, except that the professor was born in another city, Krakow, into an intelligentsia family. He completed his higher education in 1949 at Jagiellonian University and, what is a quite rare phenomenon, he has since then been continuously working there, on being promoted to successively higher ranks, beginning with assistant professor, through adjunct professor, docent and associate professor to full professor. He heads the Department of Ancient History at the Institute of History, School of Philosophy and History. Of course, there is hardly any need for me to mention that Prof Krawczuk has made tremendous research contributions to the field of ancient history, while at the same time being -- and it is worth stressing here -- a superb writer and a consummate essayist, especially as regards the history of ancient culture.

"In addition, he is a public activist: he is a vice chairman of the National Cultural Council, a member of the Team of Sejm Advisers, and a member of many scientific societies. Recently he was elected chairman of the Krakow Branch of

Polish Literati. In addition, he is active in the Social Committee for the Renovation of Krakow Landmarks. He has been awarded many prizes for his work and literary output; among other things, the prize of the chairman of the Council of Ministers, the Minister of Science and Higher Education, and the chairman of the Committee for Radio and Television.

"One more thing: Prof Krawczuk is a non-party member."

Kazimierz Kozub: "In connection with what was said, does anyone have a question?"

Jozef Wojcik (PAX) [Christian Social Association]): "Several days ago there occurred personnel changes among vice ministers of culture and arts. Professor, could I ask you whether you, as a candidate for minister, exercised an influence on these changes and eventually considered them as a condition for accepting this post? Or were these changes dictated by other considerations? Public opinion may find it incomprehensible that personnel changes occurred in the ministry even before you take office."

Aleksander Krawczuk: "Indeed, that is an important question. The matter will probably be broached again in various discussions, and so I wish to state honestly that I had been informed about the proposed changes and, after considering them carefully, I expressed my consent. The only problem was whether the new vice ministers should be appointed at present or whether I should appoint them after taking office. Ultimately, we agreed that it would be better if they were to be appointed earlier, although this may produce on public opinion the impression that the new minister was provided with a 'furnished' office."

Zdzislaw Zaluska (non-party member): "Professor, what problems in developing and propagating culture do you consider personally to be most important?"

Aleksander Krawczuk: "The office of the minister is, of course, a servant of culture and has two faces as it were: On the one hand, there's precisely the concern for propagating culture and on the other, the concern for fostering young talents, in general -- talents in all fields. Mr. Deputy, you were pleased to touch upon the issue of propagation. It seems to me that this is one of the issues which essentially are handled pretty well in this country. In the course of the 40 years [of existence of People's Poland] we have accomplished a great deal in this respect, even if often we don't realize this ourselves. In my opinion, what rather matters at present is consistency of certain policies....

"I believe that the development and propagation of culture, or in short interest in cultural aspects, are nowadays almost organically linked to a change in climate -- in the sense of introducing greater openness, discussing anything with anyone. This would, I think, contribute to the flowering of these aspects and make possible a return to a situation in which people are interested not in political implications and political attitudes but in the artistic innovations contributed by a given creative work."

Halina Auderska (non-party member): "Here I have to register an objection. There exists the idea, promoted by colleagues from the Opposition, that not all works of art receive equal treatment. This is untrue!"

"On the other hand, our colleagues from the Union [the official Polish Writers Union] have been repeatedly complaining to me that they are overlooked when it comes to granting awards and stipends, and that publishing priority is given precisely to those belonging to the Opposition. We looked into this and found it to be so. Certain books have been published very rapidly, while the publication of others, precisely those authored by our colleagues from the Union, has been postponed.

"Thus there exists a myth, and I wouldn't want my colleague the future minister to believe in that myth. I have even encountered the passing strange comment, "It would pay me to be in the Opposition." What is more, this is not the opinion of a single individual but one shared by many people who are no longer young and who feel embittered because they have been bypassed in favor of those in the Opposition. Thus, an end should be put to the myth.

"The situation has become normalized, in the sense that they have no desire at all to join our Union, because it doesn't pay them to do so --they are much better off in their status as 'franctireurs' than as members of the Writers Union...."

Aleksander Krawczuk: "There must be some misunderstanding, because I spoke and thought of the readily verifiable fact that a significant event has taken place: each side began to pass over in silence the creative works of the other; that is, artistic criticism is dead. This is an indubitable fact, as mirrored, e.g., in our periodicals, including also those that do not focus on literature.

"I would very much like for normal life to return, and for polemics, too, provided that they are polemics about artistic value."

Wojciech Zukowski (non-party member): "I entirely support the comment by Colleague Chairperson Auderska. All attempts on our part to keep the door open and stretch out our hand for a handshake have met with the terse reply, 'Either we eventually return as victors and you bend and withdraw, or we adhere to these positions, in which we retain sufficient honor.' But if the minister believes that the outcome will be different, that's his business. He has with us credit to draw upon, and let him go ahead and act. We'll very gladly cooperate with him.

"There's one other matter I wish to raise, and here I'm addressing the commission chairman. Now, Mr. Chairman, I'm making a proposal in behalf of my colleagues -- without consulting them, but I think that this is important to preserving good manners -- a proposal that thanks and a deep gratitude be expressed to Minister Zygulski for having worked under extremely difficult conditions to preserve the continuity of our national culture. Above all, I mean here the maintenance of contact with the public at a time when, owing to the demagoguery of the trade unions [Solidarity], houses and culture have been shut down, artistic ensembles broken up, instructors fired, at a time even

when here in this very auditorium we had hosted representatives who told us plainly, 'We'll have to purge libraries of all this....

"Then Prof Zygulski came and helped in the recovery of relative normalcy. For this, cordial gratitude and warm praise are due him. Let me recall the issue of building the National Library at a time when so many immeasurably urgent issues were in the fore and culture was relegated to a secondary plane. Let me recall the problem of salaries for librarians, the provision of loans and assistance to houses of culture, and greater aid to the printing industry in those conditions -- and you remember how difficult they had been! It seems to me that Prof Zygulski understood well his duty as minister of culture."

Robert Satanowski (PZPR): "I believe that at the moment it is a bit premature to expect of Prof Krawczuk that he deliver an ideological-program address as a basis for a truly comprehensive and broad discussion. As things are, the matter is satisfactory and we place great hopes in its outcome in the sense that it should solve a large number of problems. I believe that the new minister should utilize the opportunity of taking office to pose certain conditions, and I hope that he has done so.

"A major condition should be that deductions to the Cultural Development Fund should be increased. We'd like the new minister to support the idea and we expect that the first major step he will make to improve the situation will ensue precisely from his having 'veni, vidi...' -- we'll not repeat here after Caesar that he crossed the Rubicon and that the die was cast -- and at the same time in the belief that certain matters will be straightened out...."

Deputy Prime Minister Zbigniew Gertych: "Mr. Deputy, allow me to answer. As recently as a month ago the Government Presidium had adopted this postulate, for the first time in a long time. It was not rejected but on the contrary accepted willingly. The only thing we have yet to decide is the pace at which that 15-percent deduction to the Cultural Development Fund is to be reached. And it is up to Prof Krawczuk to prove that this must be reached as rapidly as possible. By now it has already been decided that, as of 1 January 1987, the deduction to that fund will amount to 14 percent. As for the 15 percent, which was supported by the Sejm Commission, that is a matter for further and by then joint action, because I'll have the pleasure of supporting the minister in this respect too."

Halina Auderska: "Where can the minister be reached? Meaning, will he live in Krakow or in Warsaw?"

Aleksander Krawczuk: "Of course, just in case, I'll retain my apartment in Krakow and work part-time for my rector [President of Jagiellonian University], whose permission I have. But in practice I'll live in Warsaw so as to be available at any time to the esteemed Commission and to all who decide to come to me." (Following this answer, Prof Krawczuk left the room before the open balloting by the deputies had commenced.)

Kazimierz Kozub: "Citizen deputies, I'd like to ask who is in favor of the candidacy of Prof Krawczuk for the post of the minister of culture and art." (Following the vote, the candidate returned to the room.)

"Professor, let me inform you that the Commission has voted, with one abstention, to support your nomination for minister of culture." (Applause)...

POLITICS

POLAND

YOUTH RESEARCH CENTER FOCUS ON PATHOLOGY, EDUCATION

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 4 Aug 86 p 2

[Article: Interview with Dr Jacek Manczak by Włodzimierz Syzdek, date and place not provided]

[Text] [Question] "Szczecin branch of the Institute of Research into Youth Problems, of which you are the secretary, has been active for over a year now. What are the matters the branch scientists are chiefly interested in?".

[Answer] "We are specializing in two problems. First, the comprehensive social pathology of youth. Second, the academic schools' nurture".

[Question] "Why these problems in particular?".

[Answer] "It was not a haphazard decision. West Pomerania, Poland's 'window to the world', shows an increased extent of various social pathology phenomena. The youth down here is more than elsewhere affected by several harmful trends and currents. The aim of our research in this respect is to visualize the magnitude of the present dangers.

Furthermore, the second stream of our research interests is plotted by certain Szczecin scientific circles' traditions. Professor Kazimierz Jaskot, the director of our branch, and Szczecin University Rector has for years conducted research into academic school nurturing processes. At present, the field and range of such research have been expanded".

[Question] "The youth social pathology and academic school upbringing problems are very wide indeed. It seems it would be hard to conduct the relevant research without breaking them down into particular subjects...".

[Answer] "Of course. This is why we are now preparing for the Government Presidium a report on youth receptivity of drug addiction. It is our intention to perceive the scope of the threat from both the personal and group point of view so as to enable us to work out effective means of preventing this terrible vice from spreading even further. Our research extends to the entire country, and to West Pomerania in particular.

In a parallel way, we are conducting research into the shaping of youth's intellectual attitudes during studies at academic schools. Assuming that it is during the studies that the world view becomes consolidated as well as the attitudes regarding life and social phenomena, we wish to find out whether youth learns to think in a self-dependent way, what are its ideals, what it considers to be the life's highest values, and what it would like its life to be dedicated to. We are also getting ready to tackle further problems. Among them, there are the socio-cultural causes of prostitution. We will try to discover the factors favoring the development of that pathological phenomenon, and in what way the victims' coevals are affected thereby.

We are also initiating research into youth morality in the context of group functions. Evidently, all such research will be fully representative solely if our questionnaires have been completed in a frank and true manner. We guarantee that all the data collected will remain anonymous. I do not think we will be disappointed, for all of us are keen on obtaining an honest picture of the current situation in various territorial youth groups".

5174/12947
CSO: 2600/674

POLITICS

POLAND

TRADE UNION AFFILIATIONS, NUMBERS NOTED

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 41, 11 Oct 86 p 6

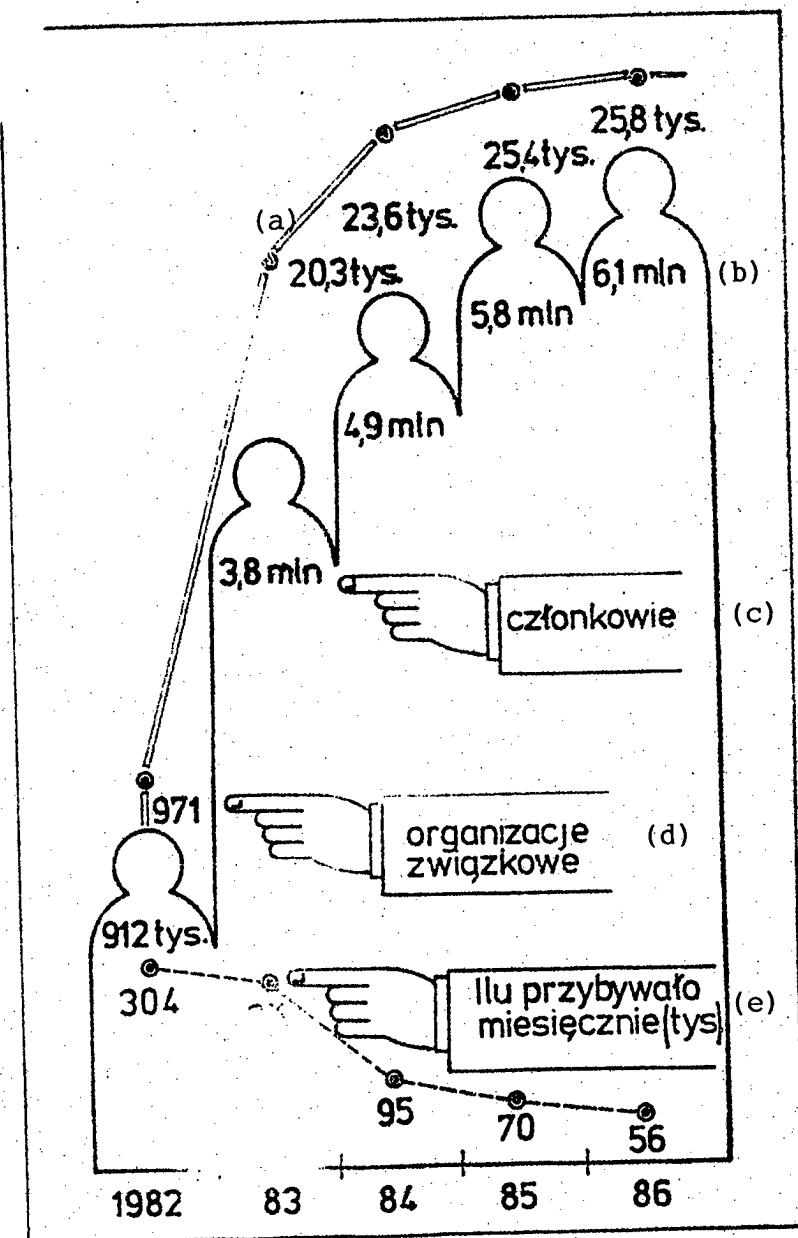
[Article by Marek Henzler: "Figures on Trade Unions"]

[Text] Toward the end of 1982, while martial law was still in effect, every fifth employee polled had expressed the desire to join [the official] trade unions. One-half declared they would take a long time before deciding, and the remainder were resolutely opposed to the new "regime-sponsored" trade unions. What is the situation at present, after 4 years since the date when, following the suspension of the activities and subsequent dissolution of the previous branch trade unions, NSZZ Solidarity, and autonomous trade unions by the authorities, the Sejm adopted a new decree enabling employees again to associate themselves in trade unions?

As soon as within 2 days following the adoption of that decree, the country's first trade-union founding group was formed at the Bobrek Mine. By the end of 1982 a total of 971 trade-union organizations with a membership of 912,800 had arisen. At present trade-union membership is sevenfold as large: as of 30 June 1986, 25,786 trade-union organizations associated a total of 6,121,500 members (employees, pensioners, and annuitants).

Even so, this total differs markedly from trade-union membership in the late 1970's (e.g., in 1978 there were 13,392,500 trade-union members, of whom 1,233,700 pensioners and annuitants). Nevertheless, after 4 years of operation, the reborn trade-union movement is again the largest social movement in this country and, if only by virtue of its size, it has the moral right to feel that it is the representative of the employees of our economy.

The numerical growth of the trade-union movement in the years 1982-1986 (until 30 June 1986) is illustrated in the diagram below.



Key: a."tys" = '000 (e.g. "23,6 tys." = 23,600; b. million; c. Members; d. Trade-union organizations; e. Monthly growth (in '000).

As can be seen, membership in the trade unions continues to grow, though not as rapidly as in the years 1982-1983. This is probably due to the depletion of the recruitment base from among those who had from the outset supported the new trade unions, and the much slower recruitment of those who "stand in the middle." Inflation, successive price increase, and the sluggish rate of improvement in working and living conditions are prompting many workers to underestimate the competences and activities of the present trade-union movement, and especially the exercise by trade-union representations of their rights at the national level.

Hence also, although trade unions already operate at 93 percent of enterprises and institutions, nearly one-half of all employees having the right to join trade unions have adopted a wait-and-see attitude, believing that these unions are dispensable or even feeling opposed to them.

The reborn trade union movement, which is very assiduous in guarding its autonomy and self-government, as specified in the Sejm decree, at present operates at three organizational levels as it were:

-- The All-Polish Consensus of Trade Unions (OPZZ), to which belong 130 national trade-union organizations, chiefly federations, associating about 92 percent of all Polish trade-union members;

-- National trade-union organizations which are not signatories to the OPZZ> Now only three of them, with a membership of about 0.1 percent of all trade-union members, remain;

-- Trade-union organizations which do not belong to any supraplant structure. Often they in this way protect their autonomy or self-government, but often also they cannot afford to pay dues to the federations. They associate about 3 percent of all trade-union members.

Even at the national level, the trade-union movement is extremely fragmented. In 1978 there had existed 23 main boards of discrete (subsector) trade unions, whereas now there exist 133 national trade-union organizations. In only three of the 26 currently identified subsectors do there operate single national subsector organizations: in the metallurgical industry, in the SPOLEM trading cooperatives, and in the power industry. In such subsectors as, e.g., the food industry, there operate 16 different national structures, followed by 15 national structures for social-service and state employees, 11 for employees of culture and the printing industry, and 9 for transportation employees.

The largest national trade-union organization is the Polish Teachers Union (505,000 members), followed by such federations as the Trade Union of Miners and the Trade Union of Agricultural Workers (with 441,000 members each), the Federation of Construction Workers (296,000 members), and the Federation of Metal Workers (283,000 members). These five national structures associate one-third of all Polish trade-union members. They are followed by organizations associating employees of the light and chemical industries, the SPOLEM trading cooperatives, labor cooperatives, and health personnel. The eleven largest organizations with a membership of more than 200,000 [each] associate 60 percent of all trade-union members in Poland.

On the other hand, as many as 109 organizations (federations) have a membership of fewer than 50,000 each, including the Trade Union of PZPR Employees (25,200 members) (of whom 3,800 pensioners), the National Trade Union of ZSMP [Union of Polish Socialist Youth] Employees (4,200 members), and the Trade Union of Employees of Religious Culture and Religious Art (ecclesiastical, organists, etc.) (1,300 members). At the very bottom of the list there are the Trade Union of ZBOWiD [Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy] Employees with its 166 members and the Federation (!) of Employees of the Association of Polish Students, 116 members.

During the first half of this year the highest growth in membership was recorded for the Miners' Federation (60,300 new members), the Metal Workers Union (32,000 new members), and the Federation of Light Industry Employees (22,000 new members). A decline in membership was recorded for 12 national organizations, most acutely for the Federation of Trade Unions of Brown Coal Mining which had lost 52 percent of its membership because part of its plant organizations had joined the Miners' Federation.

The opponents of the new trade unions have more than once claimed that their membership consists chiefly of party members and pensioners. At present, trade unions have three times as many members as does the PZPR, even when private farmers are included. And it also is known that, despite the directives, every third or fourth member of the PZPR has not yet joined a trade union.

On the other hand, pensions or annuities are being received by every seventh member belonging to trade unions that lie within the structure of the OPZZ (769,000 members). In 1978, while the trade unions had been under the aegis of the CRZZ [the pre-Solidarity official Central Council of Trade Unions], every 11th trade-union member was a pensioner or annuitant. But now individual federations differ greatly in this respect. For example, at the Federation of Trade Unions of Sugar Industry Employees, the Federation of Trade Unions of Polish Higher School and Science Teachers, the Federation of Trade Unions of the OPAKOMET Sheet-Metal Packaging Industry Employees, and at four other federations, every third or fourth member is a pensioner or annuitant. On the other hand, of the Trade Union of ZSMP Employees includes only 51 pensioners, who account for 1.2-3.6 percent of its membership [as published].

It is rather difficult to determine the present-day social composition of trade-union membership. As of 31 December 1985, of the 5,247,000 trade unions [as published] associated within the structures of the OPZZ, young people accounted for 1,279,000 (24.6 percent); women, 1,803,000 (34.2 percent), and blue-collar workers, 2,003,000 (38.0 percent). The latter in 1985 accounted for 64.7 percent of the total employment in the socialized sector. Thus, the new trade unions are neither so extensively "stuffed" with party members, and nor are they filled with pensioners, but still they continue to a large degree to consist of the "intelligentsia."

It is also worthwhile to consider the development of the trade-union movement in a breakdown by voivodships. At the end of last year the highest percentage of employees belonging to trade unions was recorded for the Czestochowa Voivodship (68.5 percent). Upward of 60 percent was recorded for the Olsztyn, Koszalin, Krosno, Ciechanow, Wloclawek, and Opole voivodships as well. The lowest percentage of employees belonging to trade unions was recorded for Lodz Voivodship (44.7 percent), Walbrzych Voivodship (46.8 percent), and Bydgoszcz

Voivodship (48.6 percent). In the remaining voivodships more than one-half of employees were trade-union members. And while as late as at the end of 1983 the reasons for the differences in the "unionization" of individual voivodships could still be traced to differences in political temperature among the workforces in the years 1980-1981, nowadays these reasons are no longer as relevant. For example, in 1983 the bottom of the list was occupied by Gdansk Voivodship with its 19.0 percent trade-union membership, whereas as of 31 December 1985 it ranked 22nd and the percentage of employees belonging to trade unions in that voivodship was 56.2 percent (nationwide average: 55.8 percent).

At the end of November 1,500 delegates will convene at the Second Assembly of the OPZZ. On the first day, the Assembly is to evaluate the situation of trade unions and eventually to adopt a resolution to transform itself into the Congress of Trade Unions. That would be a culmination of the 4-year period of the reconstruction and reinstatement of the Polish trade-union movement in the structures of the state. Of course, recruitment of additional members will be continued, the importance and position of trade unions at workplaces will continue to be furthered, and above, all relations of partnership between the trade-union movement and the central administration will be further pursued. Because, although during these 4 years a number of forms and principles for promoting such relations have been worked out, trade unionists feel that the related decisions are still rather far from being implemented in practice, which undoubtedly does not enhance the authority of the new trade unions.

And unless trade-union organizations have that authority, it is difficult to expect their further growth as well as to count on broader support by workers of the measures taken by plant management and the central administration with the object of streamlining our economy, this being the principal purpose of the Poznan meeting between Government representatives and the leadership of the OPZZ and the heads of trade-union organizations from 208 largest plants.

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POLITICS

POLAND

CATHOLIC WEEKLY ON ARMY AGITPROP CHIEF'S MEDIA COMMENTS

Katowice GOSC NIEDZIELNY in Polish No 40, 5 Oct p 7

[Article by (K.N.): "We Read"]

[Text] We read, with great interest besides, the article "Information and Ideological Struggle. TV-Video-Computer" by Professor Dr General Leslaw Wojtasik, Deputy Chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Polish Army and Chief of the Propaganda and Agitation Directorate. That article was published in TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA of 19 September 1986. Proceeding from the assumption that the role of the radio as one of the mass media has diminished markedly, the author stated:

"In this situation, Western centers for diversionary ideological activities faced the need to find more attractive and effective indoctrination channels for influencing the socialist countries, including Poland. Observations point to attempts to utilize new information-transmission technologies that have reached the technical level and scale making them suitable for this purpose. This concerns in particular video equipment, personal computers, and satellite TV transmission."

Next, L. Wojtasik discusses these types of equipment. He begins with video equipment:

"The owner of a VCR can personally decide on the program which is of interest to him as well as on its viewing time. He can repeat viewing that program in its entirety or part, because the VCR represents his own means of viewing. Such an individualization does not always promote a pertinent and planned use of information with the object of shaping a socially desirable pattern of human awareness. Then also control [censorship] over programs is curtailed....In the opinion of the Western centers of diversionary activity, this means of transmission can strengthen illegal circulation of information in Poland and serve as a major weapon of "autonomous" culture. By producing programs for the VCR, the political enemy can exploit the relatively large number of VCR's [existing in Poland]. It is estimated that there exist more than 200,000 privately owned VCR's [in Poland]. This figure, given the absence of state-owned manufacture of videocassettes and the considerable demand for them, is conducive to the intensification of illegal production as

well as to the smuggling of videocassettes into Poland from Western diversionary centers."

As cited in that article, according to data from the Main office for the Control of Publications and Entertainment [i.e., Censorship Office] the films recorded on videocassettes are mostly (United States-, FRG-, and British-produced films of negligible artistic value, calculated for audiences with crude tastes and showing pornographic scenes, violence and cruelty, as well as containing anti-Soviet motifs. Many titles of films of this type are being viewed outside the scope of censorship."

Next, the author enumerates the publishing houses specializing in Polish subjects and cites instances of the programs they produce. He also considers it necessary to counteract this situation. "Given the above situation, it is particularly urgent to initiate domestic mass production of videocassettes showing programs that would provide an effective counterweight to Western programs."

Easier said than done. Although we too are against pornography, violence, and the spreading of hate, we doubt whether Captain Kloss or the currently televised series on Janosik's Adventures can compete with various successors of James Bond, karate champions, or other "conquerors of vampires." And unfortunately, given the years of neglect of the cinematic education of the society, this seems to be the sole possible alternative that can be offered "here and now" to the viewing public.

Further, the author discusses computer games which he views as harmful, especially for youth, inasmuch as they contain veiled political propaganda. He also discusses so-called educational programs for computers. In addition, he reports that the number of various kinds of personal computers in Poland is estimated at about 150,000. In this connection, L. Wojtasik points to yet another danger: "The absence of Polish-produced computers, or rather of their appropriate promotion, causes the minds of the young to become firmly convinced in the superiority of foreign technology."

Although it is long since we left our youth behind us, we fully share this conviction, even though we ourselves do not own a personal computer. It is enough for us to compare the performance of telephone networks, the printing industry, the automotive industry, etc.

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PRESS, PERSONNEL CHANGES, MEDIA DEVELOPMENTS JULY 1976

Warsaw PRASA POLSKA in Polish No 9, Sep 86 pp 57-59

[Unattributed report: "Chronicle"]

[Excerpts] 1 July:

Janusz Rozlal was appointed deputy editor-in-chief of NOWINY JELENIOGORSKIE.

4 July:

At the Warsaw House of the Journalist the Club for Construction Problems, SD PRL [Journalists Union, Polish People's Republic] organized a meeting with Stanislaw Kukuryka.

11 July:

At the Warsaw House of the Journalist the Club for Youth Affairs, SD PRL, organized a meeting on shaping the State-mindedness of youth. The discussion was initiated by the Club's guest Editor Edmund Meclewski.

14 July:

Jan Glowczyk received representatives of SD PRL leadership headed by Chairman Klemens Krzyzanowski. Preparations of the journalist community for implementing the tasks ensuing from the resolution of the 10th PZPR Congress were discussed.

15 July:

Krystyna Kaszuba was appointed deputy editor-in-chief of KOBIETA I ZYCIE.

Janusz Rolicki was appointed editor-in-chief of the Upper Editorial Staff of Interpress Film and Television Press Agency.

Stanislaw Weremczuk was appointed editor-in-chief of the quarterly TWORCZOSC LUDOWA.

Andrzej Werka was appointed deputy editor-in-chief of the weekly SPRAWY I LUDZIE.

Danuta Zdanowicz was appointed deputy editor-in-chief of NA PRZELAJ.

16 July:

At the Warsaw House of the Journalist the Club of Publicists Abroad, SD PRL, organized another in the series of meetings "Poland in the World" with the participation of the PRL Ambassador to Ethiopia and South Yemen, Andrzej Konopacki.

17 July:

TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA announced its annual "Red Rose" awards for outstanding accomplishments in party and sociopolitical work. This year's winners include Leszek Proszowski, editor-in-chief of the weekly GWAREK in Tarnowskie Gory.

23 July:

At the Warsaw House of the Journalist was held a meeting with the USSR Ambassador, Vladimir Brovikov, a member of the CPSU Central Committee, on the subject, "The Soviet Union After the 27th CPSU Congress."

24 July:

The PZPR Central Committee Plenum appointed Editor Jozef Barecki director of the Propaganda Department under the PZPR Central Committee.

24 July:

Wladzimierz Sokorski, a longtime and honored political and cultural activist, writer, publicist, and editor-in-chief of MIESIECZNIK LITERACKI, celebrated the 50th anniversary of his creative work.

28 July:

The chairman of the Council of Ministers recalled Miroslaw Wojciechowski from the post of chairman of the Committee for Radio and Television, Polish Radio and Television, in connection with his transfer to diplomatic service.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers appointed Janusz Roszkowski to the post of chairman of the Committee for Radio and Television, on recalling him at the same time from the post of chairman of the Polish Press Agency.

The prime minister appointed Bogdan Jachacz to the post of chairman of the Polish Press Agency.

In July:

there appeared the new biweekly GOSPODARKA—ADMINISTRACJA PANSTWOWA ["The Economy and the State Administration"]. This is a new version, better adapted

to contemporary needs, of the previously published periodicals dealing with people's councils, the economy, and local administration. The biweekly is published for all employees of the economy and state administration, and it will assist them in furthering their professional skills, improving the quality of their performance, and exchanging experience.

Supplement:

In the previous issue the column "Chronicle" on personnel changes in the press during June of this year did not include all the changes. Below we publish a supplement for June.

23 June:

Bohdan Drozdowski was recalled from the post of editor-in-chief of POEZJA.

25 June:

Bohdan Urbankowski was recalled from the post of deputy editor-in-chief of POEZJA.

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POLITICS

POLAND

MEDIA NEEDS TO EVOKE TRUST, CLAIMS JOURNALIST

Warsaw PRASA POLSKA in Polish No 9, Sep 86 pp 7-8

[Article by Norbert Krawczyk, Polish Radio Station in Bydgoszcz: "A Question of Trust"]

[Text] As we know, the word 'propaganda' in itself does not always elicit a positive response among a part of our society. The reason why is not simple and unambiguous although, as we know, at every turn of our postwar history, journalists too got their share of the blame. For we remember well the significant dictum, "The press lies!" But have the journalists themselves always been to blame? Certainly not, and here it is worthwhile to consider just how effective our propaganda is. Unfortunately, not much good can be said about it, although objectively speaking I must admit that in recent years, especially after the Ninth [PZPR] Congress, evident improvements have taken place in the functioning of the press and radio. But what was good enough yesterday and today must change tomorrow: such are the laws of development and that is why, despite these improvements, I would like to focus on trends disturbing to the journalist community.

Our most important task is persuasion. And here at once the question arises whether we are indeed successful in convincing a majority of the society to accept the party program with the object of translating into reality the ideas of socialism.

I often have the impression -- and I am not alone in this -- that, both in the press, on the radio, and on television, we are trying to convince those who already are convinced. And yet there exists a substantial segment of the Polish society that has not joined in the mainstream of sociopolitical life, and it is toward that segment above all that we should orient our techniques of persuasion. Similarly, we are not presenting adequately views that differ from ours but still are not at all hostile toward socialism. Properly speaking, the sole exception is the PRON's [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] weekly ODRODZENIE. But that periodical has only a small readership - - a few percent of Poles. Thus when we speak of national reconciliation -- whose idea was so strongly emphasized at the Ninth Congress -- we have to view critically and self-critically our own activities in this respect. Let us not fear polemical voices, because it is only through sharp discussion that the

boldest ideas and programs are conceived. This was mentioned in the report. Not all who chastise us are against us, and not all who praise us are with us.

Another and highly important function of the mass media is information policy. Here too marked progress can be noted, demonstrated by the adoption by the Sejm of the Press Decree and the Decree on the Control of the Press, Publications, and Entertainment. However, as happens in real life, even decrees of the supreme legislative body do not automatically resolve all problems. Here too many omissions can be identified and traced to both decisionmakers and us journalists. Unfortunately, instances happen in which we inform the society too late or too vaguely about, especially, situations that threaten a growth of social tensions. And we know well, from recent history also, that every time some news is glossed over, this nourishes rumors, which cause irreparable damage. Unfortunately, the provision of information continues to be poor -- and here we must self-critically view our own production -- on television and in the press. I agree that DZIENNIK TELEWIZYJNY (Daily TV News Broadcast) should indeed reflect official policies, but this does not mean that it has to be edited so amateurishly. After all, it is the daily with the largest mass circulation in this country, yet it is edited as in the 1970's, except that instead of three chiefs two have now remained, and it shows mostly activities at work establishments or "talking heads," without showing much of our country's authentic life -- a subject to which I shall return. I am not of course authorized to submit proposals for altering DZIENNIK TELEWIZYJNY. But it seems to me, as well as to a majority of viewers, that the formula for this largest mass program should be changed, because the fact that is size of viewing audience is largest is not in itself sufficient. Of course, its audience is largest, but only because there is simply no competition by another program, and for this very reason it should be better edited, because -- let us not deceive ourselves -- the average viewer evaluates our propaganda through the prism of the daily TV news broadcast.

The provision of information by, especially, the press on all kinds of conferences, meetings, and official encounters needs improvement. At times the reader has the impression that Poland is a country of people who engage in endless discussions at all sorts of symposiums and meetings and conferences. The first pages of most newspapers look very much alike, and then also there is the "protocol": how many years already the abandonment of reports which begin with naming the names of highly important and less important personages has been urged?

We have often been discussing, both at our radio station and at meetings of the Bydgoszcz Branch of the Polish Journalists Association, a propaganda model for the 1990's and the 21st century. At times, mutually exclusive proposals were made, but on one thing we are in agreement, like journalists elsewhere in this country: the current model of propaganda does not meet the expectations of the society and is not even adapted to the year 1986.

How then should this model be revised? Let me recall that, owing to the introduction of satellite television, we are facing a new stage in not only ideological but also propaganda-and-information confrontation. Of course, we lack as yet the technical potential of the most modern Western countries. But

our programs, especially those propagating culture and influencing the mindsets and consciousness of viewers, can and should be competitive.

It should be borne in mind, however, that the average viewer will be more interested in local news in his voivodship, city, or borough, than, e.g., in a satellite-TV program. That is why the development of regional mass media centers in the next few years is so important. And while the situation of the press is moderately satisfactory, considering that, in addition to dailies, local party weeklies are being published in many voivodships, television and radio leave much to be desired.

The myth of the nationwide Polish program has for years been burdening Polish Radio and Television as a whole. For example, the share of regional programs in the central radio antenna is declining. Suffice it to mention that, e.g., in the 1970's local radio stations accounted for 20 percent of national radio time. But last year their share declined to barely 12 percent. At present it is Warsaw Radio, rather than national radio, that dominates the airwaves and it does not reflect fully the rhythm of this country's life.

What is particularly troubling to us in this connection? There is no clear, logical and planned program for the development of local TV and radio stations. Yet, throughout the world, it is precisely such mass media -- regional, local, city, borough, and even community -- that are gaining a growing number of viewers and listeners. For, as known, it is the central mass media that deal with so-called big politics, while local mass media should focus on the life of their communities. The culture-creating role of local radio and television also should not be forgotten, since they often are the prime movers and patrons of folk artists, writers, musicians, and painters. In this place let me offer yet another and highly important comment: for more than 15 years now we have been waiting for the status of plant-owned Press and radio stations to be clarified, and yet I hardly need to convince my fellow journalists about the importance of these mass media. For it was at the most difficult moments that precisely reporters working for factory newspapers and radio stations were, to use military language, in the forward front line. The proper political decisions should finally be taken on this matter. Also disturbing is the excessively commercialized treatment of certain mass media. Of course, it is understandable that, now that the economic reform has also spread to the press, radio, and television, they too are expected to be cost-effective. But this should not overshadow the fundamental program tasks and editorial tasks. This simply concerns maintaining reasonable proportions between propaganda tasks and the profit motive. For it is difficult to require of, for example, social and cultural weeklies that they be self-supporting, like radio and television.

Before coming to the Congress I met with my colleagues and employees of many plants in Bydgoszcz Voivodship who placed me under the obligation of presenting these reflections on the functioning of propaganda in this country. It is precisely these talks with our readers, listeners, and viewers that serve to formulate three general conclusions. First, the propaganda policy must be even more open, so as to present personal opinions -- of course, insofar as they are in agreement with the system-of-society principles of our State, but still they can differ about the solution of certain problems.

Second, the provision of information on national and world events must be broader and more rapid. As General Wojciech Jaruzelski said, "The more broadly the citizen is informed, the greater his trust in us and the better this is for the party and the country." And lastly, third, in the immediate future, political decisions, followed by administrative decisions, must be taken to develop the mass media, with special consideration of local television, radio, and Press.

In conclusion, some personal reflections: As I mentioned at the outset, following every sharp political turn in the postwar history of our country, we have been told quite often that journalists also were to blame. I believe -- and I am not alone in this belief -- that, even if we take a critical position on manifestations of abuses and mismanagement that do occur in this country, as political activists, because that is how we regard ourselves, we are doing it only for one basic reason: we desire for the chaos in this country to steadily diminish and for rational decisions at every level to be something normal, because so far we still often have to speak and write about lack of competence. For we still lack the conviction that we should finally focus on professionalism and perfectionism in doing our work. We journalists too should be professionals, for only professionals perform their duties properly.

I think that it is worthwhile to trust us.

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POLAND

BRIEFS

BARYLA, YOUTH UNION MEETING--Poland's political-economic problems were discussed on 25 August at the youth meeting held at the training-and-rest camp in Sielpia, Kielce voivodship, and attended by Jozef Baryla, member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the party Central Committee. The youths displayed interest in the implementation of PZPR program and of the resolution passed by the 10th PZPR Congress. Careful attention was given the matters of scientific-technical progress at industrial plants, housing construction, and culture. The participants referred to the need for the development of sponsored housing construction and of computerization of industry. It was stressed that, the crisis notwithstanding, the number of cultural agencies was increasing--as early as this year, a youth house of culture will open in Kielce. The meeting was also attended by Maciej Lubczynski, director, PZPR Central Committee Socio-Vocational Department, and by Jerzy Wojcik, deputy director, PZPR Central Committee Cadre Policies Department. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 Aug 86 p 2] 5174/12947

MILITARY LECTURERS AT YOUTH CAMPS--Just as happens every year, military lecturers are visiting youth camps and colonies during the 1986 summer holidays. In their lectures, they are referring to the history and traditions of People's Polish Army, to youth problems as discussed at the 10th PZPR Congress, and to Armed Forces' contributions to the country's economic development. Also taking part in the meetings: Reserve officers, ZBoWiD, ZBZZ and LOK members. Youths are often invited to visit military units and certain military schools. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 25 Aug 86 p 1] 5174/12947

PROSECUTOR GENERAL VISITS USSR--Invited by Aleksandr Rekunkov, Soviet prosecutor general, and led by Jozef Zyto, prosecutor general, the delegation of Polish prosecutors visited the Soviet Union 18-22 August. Information was swapped on the activities of both countries' prosecutors, and good results stressed of the two agencies' cooperation. In Moscow, the delegation was received by Petr Demichev, first deputy chairman of USSR Supreme Council Presidium. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23-24 Aug 86 p 7] 5174/12947

OPZZ DELEGATE SELECTIONS--The draft program of Polish trade unions was on 19 August discussed at the IIIrd assembly of the Federation of Brewery Industry trade unions. Delegates to the 2d OPZZ Congress were elected. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Aug 86 p 2] 5174/12947

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POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

DOBROSLAV PARAGA DESCRIBES MISTREATMENT IN PRISON

Ljubljana NOVA REVIJA in Slovene No 48/49, 1986 pp 814-817

[Letter from Dobroslav Paraga, Yugoslav human rights activist: "A Chronicle of Torture and Suffering in Yugoslav Prisons from 21 November 1980 to 21 November 1984"]

[Text] Immediately after my arrest I was locked in a cold concrete cell (without a blanket). After three days I was transferred to a cell without air where I waited all of Monday and Tuesday (25 November) until noon Wednesday in complete darkness and without anything to eat or drink. From 21 to 26 November I did not get anything at all. It was clear that they wanted to make me suffer constantly.

Because of this treatment I soon became ill with intestinal inflammation and gastritis. Then I developed large subcutaneous ulcers and pus-filled skin inflammation on my back and chest.

In mid-January 1984, after endless threats from the State Security Service whose employees took me out of a room in the Investigative Prison into the streets of Zagreb and to further interrogations without my attorney's consent, imprisoned criminal Slobodan Novkovic from Srbac near Banja Luka suddenly and for no reason attacked me, overturned a heavy, approximately 6-meter long bench on my left foot, and jumped on the bench. This resulted in a fractured toe and five fractures in my left foot. They immobilized my left foot with a plaster cast and a splint at the Trauma Hospital in Zagreb. I wore them for a good month and a half, but without appropriate treatment and rest. For that reason I continued to limp for several months while I was in the Investigative Prison. I had a relapse in the form of sharp pains the summer after I was released from prison.

At the end of 1981, after I arrived on Goli Otok, I was subjected to intimidation and terrible torture by the prison administration, headed by Director Anton Silic, Deputy Director Ivos, and the head of the penal/correctional facility, Josip Lopac. At the reception center, in accordance with orders from the head of the center, they put me in with the most hardened criminals. They sent me to work on basket weaving. That section was the worst in terms of psychopathic and criminal tendencies among the inmates. It is a real penal section. Journalist Sanic told my parents that I was subjected to a regimen of strict imprisonment and limited visits.

In January 1982 I spent 10 days in the hospital building at Goli Otok. I had developed lung disease and had a strong allergic inflammation on my body and hands--a consequence of clearing heavy rocks which had been blown up and of picking off parasites from bushes and the scarce trees.

I had still not recovered and was nearly as ill as before when they took me to see Sislic, the director of the penal-correctional facility, because I had complained that I had been put into a group where I was constantly provoked and my life hung by a thread. The director told me that he would put me in a cage where I would die in the dark from cold and hunger. "Either you will conform to my stipulations or you will not leave here alive," were his threatening words.

On that occasion I was punished with 10 days in dim underground cell without any glass window. That was one of the solitary cells in the infamous section 103 intended for solitary confinement.

A guard named Gregor--he had taken me to see Silic--gave me several terrific blows on the back with a rubber truncheon after my interview with Silic so that I stumbled and everything spun around me. The blows left me with thick black marks which later, of course, became fainter. The scars are visible to this day.

They placed me in the same damp concrete cell on 30 January 1982. It is dug approximately five meters below grade next to the building. From the window opening to the ground above there was a ladder that was at least two meters long. The solitary cell in which I was confined was dark day and night since the light of day could not reach it. The inmates called it THE CAGE because one could take only two paces in it--one could only stand bent over or sit bent over in a corner or on the bed. The guards removed all of the clothes that could have kept me warm and took away my blanket. They left me naked, exposed, without clothes, and barefoot to live for ten days in the cage if I could. They laughed as they closed the heavy iron door behind me. The temperature dropped to 5 degrees [Centigrade] below zero. There was a hurricane-like wind from Senj with gusts of up to 200 kilometers per hour.

Under those circumstances I refused food for eight days. It seemed certain to me that no one could endure such hellish torture. I hoped for a quick and honorable death. My feet swelled up so much that I could not put my shoes on when, on the seventh day, the guards took me two kilometers away because Father Smiljan had come to see me. I only stuck my toes into the shoes. I had reached the limits of my endurance. I was shaking from head to toe, my gums were bleeding, and I already felt near death.

The fourth and eighth days of solitary confinement I experienced physical torture. The prison physician, Dr Markovina, along with two guards and two male nurses approached my cell and ordered that I be taken out. The first guard pulled me roughly by the hair, the second by the arm. They made me sit on a chair with a back. They bound my hands behind my back with an iron chain and a padlock. One of them pulled my head back. The other ordered me to open my mouth and suddenly forced a rubber truncheon between my teeth.

The physician then approached me and began to push, through my esophagus, a thick rubber tube into my stomach. He did it so forcefully and roughly that later I spat up blood. Two days later I experienced the same kind of torture.

After I got out of solitary confinement, I was not allowed to associate with other inmates even though I had survived several days alone in a cold concrete cell without heat or windows above the solitary confinement cells in the same building. They placed me there without explanation. Then I was also visited by deputy director Ivos and the head of the penal/correctional facility, Lopac, who threatened that they would prepare another indictment against me because I was a bad influence on the other inmates.

On that occasion they told me that Goli Otok was large enough to gobble up even criminals like me.

After I was released from solitary confinement I was quickly placed into another department--the paint shop--and I was formally allowed to receive the books sent to me from home. The department supervisor, Aldok, forced me to work without respite for hours claiming that I never met the quota and saying that he would again place me in solitary confinement. When I came to ask him what daily quota had to be met, since I had heard from others that it was less than what I had done in eight hours of work, he snapped at me: "You shit, get out of here! Guards, take him to solitary confinement."

They immediately removed and destroyed all the books that I had received from home.

At the same time some of the inmates who were attending the prison elementary or high school--among them one Subasic and one Tomislav Priko--told me that the teacher had warned them that I was a dangerous enemy of the state whose father had been a Nazi and said that their education would be judged by their attitude toward me. He said all of this while teaching them.

In this manner an atmosphere of revenge against me was created among the inmates. While watching the news on television, they overwhelmed me with all sorts of complaints and insulted me in a crude manner. In February or March they showed us a drama about the Cetnik movement. At that time some of the inmates shouted my name and compared me to an Ustasa or a Cetnik.

Along the road from the plant to the settlement (a colony of 500 inmates), the guards shouted: "Paraga, don't break the line"! "Paraga, don't risk your head"! "Fuck your dead mother, Paraga"!, etc.

Somewhat later during the Mayday celebration I spoke with inmate Punos. He asked me to write for a request for a renewed trial. Director Lopac approached us (twice) and told us that he did not want Punos to talk to me because I was a "politically negative person."

In February 1982 a multiple murderer and terrorist of international caliber, BRUNO REKETTI, began to play the role of my protector. He promised to protect me against attacks and also said that he would store my personal possessions

in the movie theater, which was his responsibility. He must have known that I was coming to Goli Otok since he immediately sent to the canteen milk and other food for me even though until then we had not known each other or even met. He demanded, first indirectly and later as a matter of course, that I sneak into the movie theater after work without letting anyone know. He had a whole network of spies who told him if any of the inmates had approached me to talk to me. They were later beaten up. The poor men did not even know why they were beaten up with fists or iron bars. Reketii had a store of alcohol which he used to bribe the inhabitants of the island prison. Several times he arranged black magic seances and tried to force me to take part in these activities, but I always turned him down. In April he tried once again to drag me to a seance--he hung a long dagger from my neck--and since he was not successful, he beat me unconscious with karate blows.

On 1 May 1982 Reketti showed me black on white that the Presidency of Croatia had decided to reduce his sentence by a year for the first time since he had been incarcerated. He felt that the reason was that he was keeping an eye on me and that his pardon was due to me. Next day, when he was quite drunk with brandy, he told me that in mid-November 1981 he was summoned to see director Lopac, who ordered him to keep an eye on me, keep me separated from the other inmates and--when the time was right--physically liquidate me. As a reward, Lopac promised him the best job in the penal/correctional facility. Lopac said that he would release Reketti on parole seven years early. Reketti also told me that he was supposed to talk me into trying to escape from Goli Otok; he would then drown me or murder me in some other fashion and cover me with rocks. The penal/correctional facility administration would then let it be known that I had perished while trying to escape. He added that, in addition to himself, two others had received the same orders. He was protecting me from them because he felt I had strong homosexual leanings. If I did not give in to him, he would kill me and the other two.

Two weeks later, he indeed tried to liquidate me. Allegedly the other two had decided that they would kill me that day, and he wanted to beat them to it. He threatened me with a knife and wanted to immure me into a niche that had been dug in a wall of the movie theater. I was suddenly overcome by a great weakness, unable to breathe, and everything spun around me. A bell rang; it was time to count the inmates. The criminal flinched. He had to call the other inmates to take me before the building where they took the head count.

After that I went to see Dr Nakic day after day. I was plagued by severe headaches, dizzy spells, and loss of consciousness. Several times I staggered in the prison courtyard and had to grab the walls of the buildings. On the third day of my illness the physician noted that he ought to measure my blood pressure. It turned out to be exceptionally high (200/120) and rising. By 1 June my condition was very serious. They took me to the mainland by boat and put me in the Simunska Hospital in Zagreb.

I spent a good three weeks in the Simunska Prison Hospital in the psychiatric ward. I was examined and treated by Dr Ranko Radonjic. Even though my health did not substantially improve, Dr Radonjic was unscrupulous enough to send me back to Goli Otok with a blood pressure that was a great deal higher than normal--200/110.

On 30 June 1982 they took me, along with two other inmates, in the back of a small prison van to the district prison in Rijeka. Once there I was locked up for two days in the reception area, which faces on the busiest part of Rijeka, so that it is filled with exhaust fumes from the street. The inmates there knocked on the door several times demanding that a physician see me, but none came. The prison cook and several inmates took me half-conscious to the van, which took me back to Goli Otok. I came back totally exhausted. I was put in the prison infirmary. I lost consciousness for four days. Placed on a stretcher, I was taken to the mainland by boat a second time and then to Zagreb. Dr Nikolic said that I was in the pre-stroke stage--my blood pressure was 240/150. I was treated in a Zagreb hospital from 6 July to 10 November 1982. Because of my badly damaged health, the Croatian Secretariat for Justice decided to place me in the Lepoglava penal/correctional facility that same year (1982).

In Lepoglava, I was frequently examined and given TRASICOR 80 and SINAPRES for high blood pressure. My health was damaged primarily because the prison authorities had placed me in solitary confinement five times, which is against the regulations. The regulations state that an inmate may not be placed in solitary confinement if it would damage his health. My health was damaged. I was taken from solitary confinement to the Simunска Hospital three times (20 January, 25 May, and 28 July 1984).

Because of a petition on Human Rights Day, 10 December 1983, I was imprisoned again. As a protest against this harsh punishment I refused food for 21 days. Prison physician Stankovic force-fed me seven times with a tube. Finally, due to the swelling of my esophagus, the tube went into my trachea and I began to suffocate. By his own admission, he exposed me to 12 life-threatening force-feedings with a rubber tube, even though he had at his disposal painless intravenous devices, only to torture, humiliate, and possibly even kill me. Because of Dr Miroslav Stankovic's rubber tube, my gastrointestinal tract bled for three days after I was released from solitary confinement.

I spent 271 days of my four-year term in solitary confinement in prisons and hospitals, where I was psychologically and physically tortured.

Since my release, I have been under treatment for high blood pressure, which has not gone down.

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SOCIOLOGY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

ABUSE OF HEALTH CARE SYSTEM REVEALED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Oct 86 p 3

[Article by Lenka Tomesova: "Malingeringers or Parasites?"]

[Excerpt] "Malingeringers or Parasites?" is the exact title of an article by Kveta Mullerova published in HALO SOBOTA No 30. It focuses on certain individuals who demand, without any justification, various social security payments and benefits. It is astonishing to learn, for example, that while 10 years ago an applicant of about 30 years of age was an exception (and in such cases it was usually due to some serious affliction from childhood or to the consequences of various injuries), most applications submitted today to review boards come from citizens 30-35 years old.

As Kveta Mullerova observes in her article, "Many of them say frankly that they have already done enough for socialism and therefore they have earned the right to expect socialism to support them." What a strange attitude! Just consider all the work it takes before the actual health condition of those applicants can be determined. It requires considerable time and also funds which should go to those who are really ill.

We know such cases in our vicinity. The letters responding to the above-mentioned article, which were not always positive, also pointed them out. Readers stress that disability benefits are frequently granted as a "favor for a friend," while those in real need often encounter great difficulties when they claim their rights.

Every citizen may benefit from medical care--from insurance payments up to, let us say, a stay in a resort. However, use and abuse are two different concepts. There are many individuals around us who abuse their privileges. In their letters our readers (for instance, Marie Nova of Brno) underscore the fact that the low standard of our medical services and the questionable conduct of their employees play into the hands of such persons. It is therefore quite appropriate for our control agencies to take steps in that direction.

Nevertheless, it is only right that the agency which oversees the state Health Administration is also interested in the patients' condition. A case from the district of Nachod shows how important reviews are. In the first 6 months of this year 5,275 incapacitated persons were reexamined. Violations of medical regulations were confirmed in 319 cases, or 6.04 percent of all control

check-ups. That figure is not negligible. For that reason, as the district newspaper NOVÝ CAS notes, the factory committee decided to dock insurance benefits in 196 cases and to cancel them completely in 28 cases of poor discipline. Employees were reprimanded without losing their benefits in 111 instances of violations of medical regulations.

That was on my mind as I watched an interesting program about Japan's construction industry which was broadcast on Czechoslovak television. From it I learned not only about that industry's progressive methods but also that if the foreman spots a worker smoking at work for the first time, he reprimands him, but if that happens again and if the employee fails fully to concentrate on his work, he can kiss his job in construction goodbye. There is no need to speculate how it might affect the worker's family. In addition, some employees in Japan will not take vacations for fear of losing their jobs. If they happen to get sick, their stay at home is plagued by even greater anxieties...

We shall agree, I am sure, that it would be wrong if our people would not take the vacations they deserve or if they were afraid to stay home and take care of themselves when they are sick. After all, each one of us is entitled to time off and to insurance benefits in case of illness. Moreover, it is our duty to take good care of our health and the health of our family.

The steady improvement of health care and the opportunities for recreation of citizens are indispensable for the social development and growth of the people's living standard in the socialist community. The decisions of the congresses of the fraternal communist and workers' parties in socialist countries set up specific tasks in this respect. In the capitalist countries--so much extolled by some of our fellow citizens--programs for health protection remain only on paper...

Whether we want to or not, let us admit that work is the salt of life. Life is more meaningful with work. Although some individuals among us fail to recognize this, most people share the view which Karel Bohunovsky from Ostrava shared with the editors: "Two years ago I retired. It is difficult to stop working. It takes a while to get used to it. But why am I writing you this? Because it breaks my heart to see so many young people who are not willing to work and who claim every imaginable illness just to get money for nothing. You can see many of these 'pensioners' constantly drinking and tipsy; they would not stop smoking. It makes me sad when I read ads like the following one published in NOVA SVOBODA: 'Healthy young retiree who has completed a year's work as a substitute will help in any organization...'"

A wise man said: "Whoever makes himself better makes the world better." Perhaps even those whom we discussed today will come to realize that. Let us hope that they will begin to understand that fact before it is too late.

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SOCIOLOGY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

FUTURE OF VIDEO RECORDING DISCUSSED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Oct 86 p 5

[Interview with Engineer Karel Arbes (commercial director of Supraphon), Dr Frantisek Marvan (deputy central director of Czechoslovak Film), and Frantisek Vomela (deputy director of the Central Film Rental Library), by Vera Miskova: "More Than Just a Technical Toy"; date and place of interview not given]

[Excerpts] Not so long ago I thought, as perhaps many others did, that video was just another of modern technology's miracles, and hence a toy to some extent, something one did or did not acquire, depending on how much money and effort he or she was willing or able to invest in it. Even now I feel that acquiring a video player, and then of course also cassettes with good films or programs on them, is perhaps more a question of effort than of money. Moreover, I have come to understand that in our country, for the time being, video recording is mainly a huge problem, a series of problems. Or, as one of the subjects interviewed below put it, a kind of slate face of problems: you succeed in stripping away one layer, and underneath you find another, and then a third, and so on.

There are many people who take all these problems to heart because--whether we like it or not--video is here to stay, its influence is spreading, and even though we are forced to admit that its development has caught us napping, we cannot keep our eyes closed forever. The entire field of video recording has gained acceptance with Government Resolution No 44 of 1985. The persons responsible for its implementation are both fortunate (video is something new, with a future and vast unforeseeable possibilities) and unfortunate (the difficulties are indeed legion). Three of them have accepted invitations for an interview. They are: Engineer Karel Arbes, commercial director of the Supraphon VHJ [Economic Production Unit]; Dr Frantisek Marvan, deputy central director of Czechoslovak Film; and Frantisek Vomela, deputy director of the Central Film Rental Library.

[Question] Let us begin with the state of the art of video recording in our country, from the viewpoint of the people already using it. How many such people are there, and what films or programs are available for them?

Frantisek Marvan: If we were to start out from the number of people who have been or are able to buy video players for korunas on the domestic market, we would have hardly anything to talk about. As a very cautious estimate, however, there are between 120,000 and 150,000 persons who somehow or other have acquired video players from abroad or have purchased them in Tuzex stores. And because probably few people would play video tapes just for their own enjoyment, it logically follows that the number of persons watching video tapes is already considerable.

Frantisek Vomela: The supply that the Central Film Rental Library is offering at present comprises 60 films and programs on 1800 video cassettes. There will be 100 films and programs available by the end of the year, and more will be added next year. Customers want to rent primarily our successful full-length feature films, old ones (for example, "The Emperor's Baker and Baker's Emperor") as well as recent ones that are still playing in motion-picture theaters. We have also several Soviet and Polish films ("Gypsies Go to Heaven" and "Sex Mission"), as well as documentaries. There is a wide selection of works for children. We have shorts offering light entertainment, such as "Mach and Sebesta," "Mister Tau," and "Bugs Bunny." And also full-length features, e.g. "Don't Fool Around With Devils," "Goldilocks and the Six Bears," and others. Although we are glad that we finally have been able to begin renting cassettes, there are still too few.

Karel Arbes: Namely, the black market "exquisitely" supplies additional films and programs. While so far we have been unable to sell a single prerecorded cassette to that limited number of video-player owners (several titles are in the Supraphon warehouse, waiting for their prices to be set), and it is possible to rent from among those 60 films and programs, there are quite a few enterprising owners of hundreds of films and programs imported from the West which they show, rent or play for profit (untaxed, of course). Everyone knows what such cassettes contain: in addition to films that are perhaps of good quality, the cassettes offer mostly trash, works of no artistic merit, pornography, violence and, worst of all, films clearly directed against us, against socialism. Let us call a spade a spade. That network of unlicensed rental libraries and private clubs is already an extensive hotbed of ideological influence, which in other areas would be called subversion. It is clearly that in the case of video. And unless we start taking effective action against this kind of subversion, it is useless to say that there should be none. Not to mention the fact that the copying of films and programs for purposes other than one's personal use violates the Universal Copyright Convention, which protects the rights of the authors and producers. Such piracy is punishable even by imprisonment everywhere in the world, including Czechoslovakia, since we too are a signatory to the convention on stamping out such phenomena.

[Question] How can one counter this at all?

Frantisek Marvan: The only way is through complete cooperation of all those who are helping to develop video recording. Our main task is one of cultural policy: to offer such a wide supply of interesting films and programs that it will be more attractive to choose from among our productions than to hunt for those others. Simply stated, to drive out the bad by offering enough

good in the necessary assortment. We all agree on this. But it is essential to create economic conditions such that will enable us to produce and distribute our films and programs. This in its turn requires providing the necessary audiovisual equipment for every workplace.

[Question] In other words, you need money.

Karel Arbes: Quite a lot of money and most of it in foreign exchange. We are importing components for video players (that is why there are so few), blank cassettes for recording, and recording equipment. Thanks to the understanding of the top officials at the CSR Ministry of Culture, we have been able to obtain the foreign exchange necessary to start the production of video recordings at the Supraphon VHJ, with the understanding that this activity would have to be developed further, and the physical plant and equipment would have to be expanded in every respect. That is quite a lot. Moreover, a return on investment cannot be expected for the time being, not even in korunas. Without the infusion of substantial financial resources, however, the development of video recording will not be possible. Either we decide that we all want to fulfill this important cultural-policy objective, realizing that this will cost society money. Or we have to admit that we lack the money for this purpose; and then, of course, we would have to reconcile ourselves to the black market's existence. And that we most certainly will not do. We must intensify all our efforts to ensure that the conclusions of the 17th CPCZ Congress regarding cultural policy are clearly implemented. This simplified approach to the problem should actually aid decisionmaking, in all the agencies and institutions that could provide the necessary "additional" resources.

Frantisek Marvan: In solving the financial questions, everyone up to now has had to rely on his own organization's plan. Which means that if we wanted to do something for video recording, we would have to carve up the same financial pie differently. Say, Czechoslovak Film wanted to divert some of the foreign exchange in its investment plan to the development of video recording, instead of buying controls for our lighting inventory or other essential technical equipment. To begin the copying of films onto cassettes, the Central Film Rental Library (which of course has to pay the film laboratories, since each one is a separate khozraschet unit) had to limit the number of copies for distribution. In the same way, funds had to be juggled at Supraphon as well. Yet, all this is not enough to achieve the synchronized influence we want. Not to mention that none of us wants to seriously jeopardize the production and distribution of films, nor of phonograph records. Even though we have clear concepts and plans regarding video recording, there are still many cultural-policy, professional, technical, copyright, organizational and personnel problems to be solved, and all this has to be done as we go along.

[Question] Already now a number of people are asking why foreign films are not available on cassettes. Evidently that, too, is a matter of financial resources.

Karel Arbes: Naturally, both we and the Central Film Rental Library want to add foreign films and programs of good quality to what is available. But

that is really again a question of the foreign exchange we lack to buy the video-recording rights. Nobody has given us more money for this so far, and if we spend what money we have on video recording, less will remain for films and records. There are far more people looking at films and listening to records, and even Supraphon must fulfill the plan. It is not a Czechoslovak peculiarity that this activity is not profitable for the producer during the first stages in the development of home video, until enough households are equipped with video players to create a mass market and provide a high profit rate. Even we in Czechoslovakia have to take this into consideration. But the fact remains that we can earn foreign exchange, through royalties from abroad. And here I see a possible solution: we should use at least what we earn in royalties, to pay royalties to foreign countries. Create a system of economic instruments that will enable us to acquire foreign exchange with which to buy foreign video rights, by selling abroad rights to our own works.

[Question] Already from this brief review of the planned video cassettes it is evident that in future video recording will become not only a passive form of entertainment, but also an aid in developing one's hobbies, in active recreation, even a practical aid in everyday life and an educational tool.

Frantisek Marvan: I even think this ought to be one of the main areas on which video recording should concentrate. Consider the video clubs, for example. They should become the sites of new forms of social entertainment for our youths. But young people would not come merely to absorb three hours of film, and clips of videotaped singing. The program would actually have to be designed, perhaps on a single topic. It might include the video-cassette jockey's introduction (it would have to be knowledgeable, of course), sections of a feature film and documentary, music and dancing, and perhaps some kind of contest. Young people would find in such a club, say, three hours of entertainment, during which they would also learn something. They could remain, have a good time, and ponder what they learned. Another potential application for video recording is in party education. It could make instruction much more lively, introduce new elements into it, and combine lectures with selections from feature films and documentaries. But this again requires financial provisions, someone who would help to produce such programs. And who could that be? Definitely the Socialist Youth Union, the Ministry of Culture and Education, the State Commission for R&D and Investment Planning, the CSVTS [Czechoslovak Scientific and Technical Society], the trade unions. In short, all those who have financial resources and a direct interest in supporting this socially necessary phenomenon.

Frantisek Vomela: I can cite the following example of good cooperation: The entire film library of Inforfilmservis--it lends scientific and professional films, both domestic (made, say, at the Skoda Works or the Agricultural College) and foreign (these we obtain from festivals such as Techfilm, Agrofilm, or Ekofilm)--is now on video cassettes. Mutual agreements between the Central Film Rental Library and the producers of these films, making them available free of charge, have substantially reduced the costs of copying these films onto cassettes. And all at once we have 84 titles, which we are able to offer at low rentals that cover only the costs of copying.

Thus it is evident that something is being done, but even more could and should be done. Much has already been accomplished in this direction through the enthusiasm and conviction of the people concerned, sometimes even through a willingness to take risks, and by uncovering additional reserves that are still available. Video recording is a powerful ideological weapon. Therefore we must bear in mind that the actual issue here is how we will be able to use and work with this weapon. The sooner we remove the barriers that have been mentioned, the better. And as this interview has again demonstrated, these barriers are not insurmountable.

1014
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SOCIOLOGY

POLAND

COLUMNIST LINKS BIRTH RATE, WOMEN'S LIBERATION ISSUE

Warsaw SZPILKI in Polish No 36, 4 Sep 86 pp 14,15

[Text] In Jarocin, there recently appeared a group of devil-worshippers that committed an act of regrettable excess. Our country is a colorful one and I could not even count the sort of curious human attitudes that do not even stand out in our country. However, we do not have a women's liberation movement and this has greatly irritated the western women that come to us as tourists. They are even inclined to feel that they are in a wild and backward country and our toilet paper really convinces them that this is indeed the case. As we have heard these ladies state in the salons of Warsaw and Krakow, it is too coarse in texture for Poland to be considered a part of western culture.

A few years ago, there was formed at Warsaw University a small and elite women's liberation group that fell apart quickly without achieving either any success or notoriety. Some Polish girls free themselves from the domination of various men very radically but they do this individually. They do not at all feel that they have to shout at other women to do the same.

I think it is essential to say why the great women's liberation movement has been totally ignored in Poland even by the normally most avant-garde groups of women as well as by those that are financially and sexually independent. Other western fashions and trends take so well in Poland that we must wonder why the women's liberation movement has not managed to swim across the Oder and Lusatian Neisse.

Looking into the matter of women's liberation, I will not go far back into the past to find examples of women who showed their independence such as Princess Wanda who so much did not want a German husband that she drowned herself or even Queen Jadwiga who so wanted a certain German that she left her husband for which the latter gave the Germans a good beating at Grunwald. The attitudes of contemporary women have been formed in modern times.

The change to equal rights was a by-product of the Nazi occupation. Many women and the majority of those from publicly-influential and intellectual classes lost their husbands forever or for at least a little while. They found themselves in the fighting armies. They found themselves in POW or concentration camps, went to prison, joined partisan groups, were killed, went into hiding, etc. Their wives were their only survivors and assumed sole

responsibility for their families. The traditional woman's role became a thing of the past. This most strongly affected the intellectual class and somewhat less the women from the other urban classes. The rural countryside was least affected but the traditional role of women there was already different in that the husband and wife divided their work and were more dependent on each other.

During the occupation, the urban women's liberation occurred quite radically and after the war, male-female relations could no longer return to their former status. The background for female liberation was so tragic that it has left us with bad memories. The collective memory of Polish women passed down through the generations has therefore not fostered any of the anti-male sentiment that we hear about in the West.

Before the war, Poland had a predominantly rural population. During the population, even more people moved into the rural areas when their cities were destroyed and out of the 6 million that lost their lives during the war, the majority were the inhabitants of cities. After the war, most of our people and therefore the rural population gave up their normal places of residence and moved from the country into the cities, from the East to the West and from agriculture to industry. There was a dramatic change in traditional ties in which the women had been imprisoned and subjected to strict social, economic and cultural rigors. Young women began to study and take up professions. The processes that have lasted for hundreds of years or at least decades in capitalist societies ran their course in Poland in only a few years.

The rate of women's liberation in Poland was less significant than its scope. Polish womanhood experienced a great shock under socialism, the shock of city life, the shock of working in industry, the shock of going to schools and the shock of involvement in political life. The change in their lives was dramatic and all-encompassing. These phenomena were accompanied by a rapturous sexual liberation although no one spoke of it as such. On the contrary, such aspects of the changes were ignored or covered up. This sexual freedom had more to do with lifestyles than with ideas, opinions or religious principles. However, the idea of free partnership with men was taken up by the girls who had moved into the cities from rural areas where up to then the free choice of a husband had been a rarity and the matrimonial choice was left up to the parents with economic criteria outweighing any feelings.

What is most important is that in the handful of years that had passed since September 1939, that generation of Polish women experienced two liberating upheavals. One took place under tragic circumstances while the other was more beneficial but as a sudden change of fate still lead to bewilderment and insecurity. It was therefore hard for the women of Poland who had already survived two profound changes to show any interest in a third (and especially one so shallow, superficial and devoid of any real social or economic justification) that occurred in the eruption of the women's liberation movement in the West which was a movement of the affluent, bored and urban intellectual classes of women.

After every sudden and violent change in a people's social position, there is always a reaction against all that was done before, even the good things. If

history forces nations and classes to a sudden gallop, there is always an urge to stand still, hold on to what has already been achieved, to look at the past with nostalgia and to dig up and treasure lost values.

The history of socialism in Poland has also partially reoriented women about their situation before the two upheavals. The two things they had achieved were strong and lasting: the right to an education and easy access to employment in various professions. These supreme liberating factors did not therefore have to be fought for or defended. The feeling that the foundations for women's liberation were secure caused a reaction against the violent character of the experienced changes and this was a reorientation toward family life. Women again saw this as a supreme value and declared that the essence of life for them was once again a home, husband, children and family life. "Within the family," they said, "we find the life we want and a feeling of security". Education began to serve as a means of improving a woman's chances for marriage and more of a social enhancement than a professional goal. The paid work done by most women was more an economic necessity than a reason for living. The Catholic church had much to do with this reorientation of values because it was influential in many areas of the lives of most Polish families and had almost no influence over their places of employment. The church therefore strengthened itself by strengthening the role of the family in social life.

Sociological studies on the attitudes of Polish women have revealed considerable discrepancies between what the average Polish woman professes and what she really thinks or what she thinks and says and what she does. She says that she would prefer to remain at home if her husband earned more but she does not give up working once her husband does begin bringing home more money. Polish women declare a belief in the ideal of matrimonial loyalty and try to gain that from their husbands but they themselves do not practice it. The Polish woman wants a life-long marriage but in most cases it is she who initiates the divorce. She pays lip service to the church's teachings on family life but practices birth-control methods forbidden by the church. She listens patiently to sermons about the advantages and virtues of rural life but will not marry a farmer and will escape into the cities whenever she can. This tendency is much stronger among rural girls than boys. Research has shown that the majority of young Polish women may proclaim the ideals of loyalty and monogamy based on great feelings but at the same time, they more or less freely change sexual partners.

The average wife has a higher education than her husband and in many marriages, she earns more. In 75 percent of the studied families, it is the wife that manages the family budget or has more to say about major purchases. In Poland, the woman is not more dependent on the husband than he is on her. Furthermore, Polish women find great satisfaction in assuming the role of martyr. She presents herself as the chief victim of life's nuisances, the shortcomings of marriage and family life, material difficulties and psychological perplexities. Her status as a victim is never questioned and is actually a socially approved one respected by husbands, lovers and official statements.

Polish women have therefore achieved about everything they wanted and that could be gained under the given circumstances. They have even achieved a state in which the contrast between what they say and believe and what they do has not become an inner conflict for them because they have ceased to perceive any contradictions in their own attitudes.

I think that I have now listed all of the chief factors that have made Polish women deaf and indifferent to the raucous women's liberation movement of the West and to its slogans and philosophy. Polish women experienced a radical liberation and then gradually liberated themselves from their own liberation. What else can one want? Why would someone then want to disrupt their comfortable status and well-established hypocrisies with new ideas?

What can Poland be given by a women's liberation movement screaming that the male element rules unrightfully and dominates dishonorably? Polish women do not even want to argue over male tyranny because they do not want to reveal the advantages and privileges they have attained in family life, social life and material consumption. They also avoid fighting for power in their professions or for influence over society, economic organisms or government and politics. Taking responsibility brings satisfactions out of accordance with those that have already become the property of our wives and grown daughters and out of accordance with today's dominant life orientation among women. Women prefer to demand that the world be managed better, evaluate and judge than expose themselves to demands and judgement.

Most women have amputated any ambitions outside of the family but they did this using good anesthesia. Children are a major ingredient of that anesthesia. Polish women therefore give birth to a lot of babies. These children are a vessel into which they pour all of their own suppressed or undeveloped ambitions. Children serve as a remarkable means of self-deception.

The mechanism of the change of generations is a remarkable means of calming one's ambitions and self-deception. Children give good promise for the future and when the time comes for this promise to be realized, young people give birth to new children and therefore cede their own ambitions which they have not really tried to fulfill. I think that this is the cause of the present high level of fecundity in Poland -- it is a mechanism for giving up one's ambitions by passing them on to another generation.

If we are to raise up the dampened vitality and weakened aspirations of the present adult generation, we must assume that our children are useless and that nothing good will come of them. History teaches us that this is the correct and most realistic attitude to take toward them. Polish women must therefore be liberated from their illusions about their children.

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